Walter — A Pitmans Vol

VOYAGE

ROUND THE

WORLD,

In the Years M,DCC,XL, I, II, III, IV.

BY

GEORGE ANSON, Esq;
Now Lord Anson,

Commander in chief of a Squadron of his MAJESTY's Ships, ſent upon an Expedition to the South Seas.

COMPILED

From his PAPERS and MATERIALS,

By RICHARD WALTER, M. A.

Chaplain of the ſhip the Centurion, in that expedition.

VOLUME SECOND.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by and for Gavin Alston.

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BOOK II. Continued.

CHAP. VI.

The taking of Paita, and our proceedings there.

THE town of Paita is ſituated in the latitude of 5°: 12′ ſouth, on a moſt barren ſoil, compoſed only of ſand and ſlate; the extent of it (as may be ſeen in the plan of it) is but ſmall, containing, in all, leſs than two hundred families. The houſes are only ground-floors; the walls built of ſplit cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves. Theſe edifices, though extreme-

ly ſlight, are abundantly ſufficient for a climate where rain is conſidered as a prodigy, and is not ſeen in many years; ſo that it is ſaid, a ſmall quantity of rain falling in this country in the year 1728, ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and, as it were, melted before it. The inhabitants of Paita are principally Indians and black ſlaves, or at leaſt a mixed breed, the whites being very few. The port of Paita, though in reality little more than a bay, is eſteemed the beſt on that part of the coaſt, and is indeed a very ſecure and commodious anchorage. It is greatly frequented by all veſſels coming from the north, ſince here only the ſhips from Acapulco, Sonſonnate, Realeijo, and Panama, can touch and refreſh in their paſſage to Callao: and the length of theſe voyages (the wind for the greateſt part of the year being full againſt them) renders it impoſſible to perform them without calling upon the coaſt for a recruit of freſh water. It is true, Paita is ſituated on ſo parched a ſpot, that it does not itſelf furniſh a drop of freſh water, or any kind of greens or proviſions, except fiſh, and a few goats; but there is an Indian town, called Colan, about two or three leagues diſtant, to the northward, from whence water, maize, greens, fowls, *&c.* are conveyed to Paita on balſas or floats, for the conveniency of the ſhips that touch here; and cattle are ſometimes brought from Piura, a town which lies about fourteen leagues up in the country. The water fetched from Colan is whitiſh, and of a diſagreeable appearance, but is ſaid to be very wholeſome; for it is pretended by the inhabitants, that it runs through large woods of ſarſaparilla, and is ſenſibly impregnated therewith. This port of Paita, beſides furniſhing the northern trade bound to Callao with water and neceſ-

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ſaries, is the uſual place where paſſengers from Acapulco or Panama, bound to Lima, diſembark; for as it is two hundred leagues from hence to Callao, the port of Lima, and as the wind is generally contrary, the paſſage by ſea is very tedious and fatiguing, but by land there is a tolerable good road, parallel to the coaſt, with many ſtations and villages for the accommodation of travellers.

It appears by the plan, that the town of Paita is itſelf an open place; ſo that its ſole protection and defence is the fort marked (B) in the plan, plate the twenty-third. It was of conſequence to us to be well informed of the fabric and ſtrength of this fort; and, from the examination of our priſoners, we found, that there were eight pieces of cannon mounted in it, but that it had neither ditch nor outwork, being ſurrounded by a plain brick wall; and that the garriſon conſiſted of only one weak company, though the town itſelf might poſſibly arm three hundred men more.

Mr Anſon having informed himſelf of the ſtrength of the place, reſolved (as hath been ſaid in the preceding chapter) to attempt it that very night. We were then about twelve leagues diſtant from the ſhore, far enough to prevent our being diſcovered, yet not ſo far but that, by making all the ſail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ſhips long before day-break. However, the Commodore prudently conſidered, that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ſhips being ſuch large bodies, might be eaſily ſeen at a diſtance, even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the ſtrength of the place did not require our whole force, reſolved

to attempt it with our boats only, ordering the eighteen-oared barge, and our own and the Tryal's pinnaces, on that ſervice; and having picked out fifty-eight men to man them, well furniſhed with arms and ammunition, he intruſted the command of the expedition to Lieutenant Brett, and gave him his neceſſary orders. And the better to prevent the diſappointment and confuſion which might ariſe from the darkneſs of the night, and from the ignorance of the ſtreets and paſſages of the place, two of the Spaniſh pilots were ordered to attend the Lieutenant, who were to conduct him to the moſt convenient landing-place, and were afterwards to be his guides on ſhore; and that we might have the greater ſecurity for their behaviour on this occaſion, the Commodore took care to aſſure our priſoners, that they ſhould all of them be releaſed and ſet on ſhore at this place, provided the pilots acted faithfully; but in caſe of any miſconduct or treachery, he threatened that the pilots ſhould be inſtantly ſhot, and that he would carry the reſt of the Spaniards who were on board him, priſoners to England. So that the priſoners themſelves were intereſted in our ſucceſs, and therefore we had no reaſon to ſuſpect our conductors either of negligence or perfidy.

On this occaſion, I cannot but remark a ſingular circumſtance of one of the pilots employed by us in this buſineſs. It ſeems (as we afterwards learned) he had been taken by Captain Clipperton above twenty years before, and had been obliged to lead Clipperton and his people to the ſurpriſe of Truxillo, a town within land, to the ſouthward of Paita, where however he contrived to alarm his countrymen, and to ſave them, tho' the place was carried and pillaged. Now, that the only two attempts on ſhore, which were made

at ſo long an interval from each other, ſhould be guided by the ſame perſon, and he too a priſoner both times, and forced upon the employ contrary to his inclination, is an incident ſo very extraordinary, that I could not help mentioning it. But to return to the matter in hand.

During our preparations, the ſhips themſelves ſtood towards the port with all the ſail they could make, being ſecure that we were yet at too great a diſtance to be ſeen. But about ten o'clock at night, the ſhips being then within five leagues of the place, Lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off and arrived in the mouth of the bay, without being diſcovered, though no ſooner had he entered it, than ſome of the people, on board a veſſel riding at anchor there, perceived him, who inſtantly getting into their boat, rowed towards the fort, ſhouting and crying, *The Engliſh, The Engliſh dogs!* &c. by which the whole town was ſuddenly alarmed, and our people ſoon obſerved ſeveral lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in great motion. Lieutenant Brett on this, encouraged his men to pull briſkly up, that they might give the enemy as little time as poſſible to prepare for their defence. However, before our boats could reach the ſhore, the people in the fort had got ready ſome of their cannon, and pointed them towards the landing-place; and though, in the darkneſs of the night, it might be well ſuppoſed that chance had a greater ſhare than ſkill in their direction, yet the firſt ſhot paſſed extremely near one of the boats, whiſtling juſt over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts, ſo that they had reached the ſhore, and were in part diſembarked by the time the ſecond gun fired. As ſoon as our men landed, they were conducted by

one of the Spaniſh pilots to the entrance of a narrow ſtreet, not above fifty yards diſtant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and being formed in the beſt manner the ſhortneſs of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large ſquare at the end of this ſtreet, the fort being one ſide of the ſquare, and the Governor's houſe another, as may be ſeen more diſtinctly in the plan, where likewiſe, the road they took from their landing to the fort, is marked out by a pricked line. In this march, (though performed with tolerable regularity) the ſhouts and clamours of threeſcore ſailors, who had been confined ſo long on ſhip-board, and were now for the firſt time on ſhore in an enemy's country, joyous as they always are when they land, and animated beſides, in the preſent caſe, with the hopes of an immenſe pillage; the huzzas, I ſay, of this ſpirited detachment, joined with the noiſe of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers in the opinion of the enemy, to at leaſt three hundred; by which perſuaſion the inhabitants were ſo greatly intimidated, that they were much more ſolicitous about the means of flight than of reſiſtance; ſo that though, upon entering the parade, our people received a volley from the merchants, who owned the treaſure then in the town, and who, with a few others, had ranged themſelves in a gallery that ran round the Governor's houſe, yet that poſt was immediately abandoned upon the firſt fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet poſſeſſion of the parade.

On this ſucceſs, Lieutenant Brett divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to ſurround the Governor's houſe, and, if poſſible, to ſecure the Governor, whilſt he himſelf, at the

head of the other, marched to the fort with an intent to force it. But, contrary to his expectation, he entered it without oppoſition; for the enemy, on his approach, abandoned it, and made their eſcape over the walls. By this means the whole place was maſtered in leſs than a quarter of an hour's time from the firſt landing, and with no other loſs than that of one man killed on the ſpot, and two wounded; one of which was the Spaniſh pilot of the Tereſa, who received a ſlight bruiſe, by a ball which grazed on his wriſt. Indeed another of the company, the honourable Mr Kepple, ſon to the Earl of Albemarle, had a very narrow eſcape; for, having on a jockey cap, one ſide of the peak was ſhaved off, cloſe to his temple, by a ball, which, however, did him no other injury.

Lieutenant Brett, when he had thus far happily ſucceeded, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the Governor's houſe, and appointed centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any ſurpriſe from the enemy, and to ſecure the effects in the place from being embezzled. This being done, his next care was to ſeize on the cuſtom-houſe, where the treaſure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what farther precautions it was neceſſary to take: but he ſoon found that the numbers left behind were noways formidable: for the greateſt part of them (being in bed when the place was ſurpriſed) had run away with ſo much precipitation, that they had not given themſelves time to put on their clothes. In this general rout the Governor was not the laſt to ſecure himſelf; for he fled betimes half naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about ſeventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him,

though ſhe too was afterwards carried off in her ſhift by a couple of centinels, juſt as the detachment, ordered to inveſt the houſe, arrived before it. This eſcape of the Governor was an unpleaſing circumſtance, as Mr Anſon had particularly recommended it to Lieutenant Brett to ſecure his perſon if poſſible, in hopes that by that means we might be able to treat for the ranſom of the place: but it ſeems his alertneſs rendered the execution of theſe orders impracticable. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except ſome ſtout negroes which were found in the town; theſe, inſtead of being ſhut up, were employed the remaining part of the night, to aſſiſt in carrying the treaſure from the cuſtom-houſe, and other places, to the fort; however, there was care taken that they ſhould be always attended by a file of muſqueteers.

The tranſporting the treaſure from the cuſtom-houſe to the fort, was the principal occupation of Mr Brett's people, after he had got poſſeſſion of the place; but the ſailors, while they were thus buſied, could not be prevented from entering the houſes which lay near them in ſearch of private pillage, where the firſt things which occurred to them, being the clothes that the Spaniards in their flight had left behind them, and which, according to the cuſtom of the country, were moſt of them either embroidered or laced, our people eagerly ſeized theſe glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trowſers and jackets, not forgetting at the ſame time, the tye or bag-wig, and laced hat, which were generally found with the clothes; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it: but thoſe who came lateſt into the faſhion, not

finding mens clothes ſufficient to equip themſelves, were obliged to take up with womens gowns and petticoats, which (provided there was finery enough) they made no ſcruple of putting on, and blending with their own greazy dreſs. So that when a party of them, thus ridiculouſly metamorphoſed, firſt appeared before Mr Brett, he was extremely ſurpriſed at the groteſque ſight, and could not immediately be ſatisfied they were his own people.

Theſe were the tranſactions of our detachment on ſhore at Paita the firſt night. But to return to what was done on board the Centurion in that interval: I muſt obſerve, that, after the boats were gone off, we lay by till one o'clock in the morning; and then, ſuppoſing our detachment to be near landing, we made an eaſy ſail for the bay. About ſeven in the morning we began to open the bay, and ſoon after had a view of the town; and though we had no reaſon to doubt of the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, yet it was with great joy that we firſt diſcovered an infallible ſignal of the certainty of our hopes; this was by means of our perſpectives; for, through them, we ſaw an Engliſh flag hoiſted on the flagſtaff of the fort, which, to us, was an inconteſtable proof that our people were in poſſeſſion of the place. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew off ſhore, would permit us: and, at eleven, the Tryal's boat came on board us, loaden with dollars and church plate; when the officer who commanded her, informed us of the preceding night's tranſactions, ſuch as we have already related them. About two in the afternoon we anchored in ten fathom and a half, at a mile and a half diſtance from the town, and were conſequently near enough to have a more immediate in-

tercourſe with thoſe on ſhore. And now we found that Mr Brett had hitherto gone on in collecting and removing the treaſure without interruption; but that the enemy had rendezvouſed from all parts of the country, on a hill at the back of the town, where they made no inconſiderable appearance: for, among the reſt of their force, there were two hundred horſe, ſeemingly very well armed and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented, being furniſhed with trumpets, drums, and ſtandards. Theſe troops paraded about the hill with great oſtentation, ſounding their military muſic, and practiſing every art to intimidate us (as our numbers on ſhore were, by this time, not unknown to them) in hopes that we might be induced, by our fears, to abandon the place before the pillage was compleated. But we were not ſo ignorant as to believe, that this body of horſe, which ſeemed to be what the enemy principally depended on, would dare to venture in ſtreets, and amongſt houſes, even had their numbers been three times as large: and therefore, notwithſtanding their menaces, we went on calmly, as long as the day-light laſted, in ſending off the treaſure, and in employing the boats to carry on board the refreſhments, ſuch as hogs, fowls, *&c.* which we found here in great abundance. However, at night, to prevent any ſurpriſe, the Commodore ſent on ſhore a reinforcement, who poſted themſelves in all the paſſages leading to the parade; and, for their further ſecurity, traverſed the ſtreet with barricadoes ſix feet high; but the enemy continuing quiet all night, we, at day-break, returned again to our labour of loading the boats, and ſending them off.

By this time we were convinced of what conſequence it would have been to us, had fortune

ſeconded the prudent views of the Commodore, by permitting us to have ſecured the Governor. For as we found in the place many ſtore-houſes full of valuable effects, which were uſeleſs to us at preſent, and ſuch as we could not find room for on board; had the Governor been in our power, he would, in all probability, have treated for the ranſom of this merchandiſe, which would have been extremely advantageous both to him and us: whereas, he being now at liberty, and having collected all the force of the country for many leagues round, and having even got a body of militia from Piura, which was fourteen leagues diſtant, he was ſo elated with his numbers, and ſo fond of his new military command, that he ſeemed not to trouble himſelf about the fate of his government. So that, though Mr Anſon ſent ſeveral meſſages to him by ſome of the inhabitants, whom he had taken priſoners, offering to enter into a treaty for the ranſom of the town and goods, giving him at the ſame time, an intimation that we ſhould be far from inſiſting on a rigorous equivolent, but perhaps might be ſatisfied with ſome live cattle, and a few neceſſaries for the uſe of the ſquadron, threatening too, that if he would not condeſcend at leaſt to treat, we would ſet fire to the town and all the ware-houſes; yet the Governor was ſo imprudent and arrogant, that he deſpiſed all theſe reiterated overtures, and did not deign even to return the leaſt anſwer to them.

On the ſecond day of our being in poſſeſſion of the place, ſeveral negroe ſlaves deſerted from the enemy on the hill, and, coming into the town, voluntarily engaged in our ſervice: one of theſe was well known to a gentleman on board, who remembered him formerly at Panama. We now learned, that the Spaniards without the town were

in extreme want of water; for many of their ſlaves crept into the place by ſtealth, and carried away ſeveral jars of water to their maſters on the hill; and though ſome of them were ſeized by our men in the attempt, yet the thirſt among the enemy was ſo preſſing, that they continued this practice till we left the place. On this ſecond day we were aſſured, both by the deſerters and by thoſe priſoners we took, that the Spaniards on the hill, who were, by this time, increaſed to a formidable number, had reſolved to ſtorm the town and fort the ſucceeding night; and that one Gordon, a Scots Papiſt, and Captain of a ſhip in thoſe ſeas, was to have the command of this enterpriſe. However we, notwithſtanding, continued ſending off our boats, and proſecuted our work without the leaſt hurry or precipitation, till the evening, when a reinforcement was again ſent on ſhore by the Commodore, and Lieutenant Brett doubled his guards at each of the barricadoes; and our poſts being connected, by the means of centinels placed within call of each other, and the whole being viſited by frequent rounds, attended with a drum, theſe marks of our vigilance, which the enemy could not be ignorant of, as they could doubtleſs hear the drum, if not the calls of the centinels; theſe marks, I ſay, of our vigilance, and of our readineſs to receive them, cooled their reſolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day; ſo that we paſſed this night with as little moleſtation as we had done the firſt.

We had finiſhed ſending the treaſure on board the Centurion the evening before; ſo that the third morning, being the 15th of November, the boats were employed in carrying off the moſt valuable part of the effects that remained in the town: and the Commodore, intending to ſail in

the afternoon, he, about ten o'clock, purſuant to his promiſe, ſent all his priſoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on ſhore, giving orders to Lieutenant Brett to ſecure them in one of the churches, under a ſtrict guard, till the men were ready to be embarked. Mr Brett was at the ſame time ordered to burn the whole town, except the two churches, (which, by good fortune, ſtood at ſome diſtance from the houſes) and then he was to abandon the place, and to return on board. Theſe orders were punctually complied with: for Mr Brett immediately ſet his men to work, to diſtribute pitch, tar, and other combuſtibles (of which great quantities were found here) into houſes ſituated in different ſtreets of the town; ſo that, the place being fired in many quarters at the ſame time, the deſtruction might be the more violent and ſudden, and the enemy, after our departure, might not be able to extinguiſh it. When theſe preparations were made, he, in the next place, commanded the cannon, which he found in the fort, to be nailed up; and then ſetting fire to thoſe houſes which were moſt to the windward, he collected his men, and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off. As that part of the beach, whence he intended to embark, was an open place without the town, near where the churches are marked in the fore-mentioned plan, the Spaniards on the hill, perceiving he was retreating, reſolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure, and thereby lay ſome foundation for their future boaſting. To this end a ſmall ſquadron of horſe, conſiſting of about ſixty, picked out, as I ſuppoſe, for this ſervice, marched down the hill with much ſeeming reſolution; ſo that, had we not entertained an adequate opinion of their proweſs, we might have imagined, that now we were upon the

open beach, with no advantage of ſituation, they would certainly have charged us: but we preſumed (and we were not miſtaken) that this was mere oſtentation. For, notwithſtanding the pomp and parade they at firſt came on with, Mr Brett had no ſooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than the enemy ſtopped their career, and never dared to advance a ſtep further.

When our people were arrived at our boats, and were ready to go on board, they were for ſome time retarded by miſſing one of their number; and being unable, on their mutual enquiries amongſt each other, to inform themſelves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after a conſiderable delay, reſolved to get into their boats and depart without him. But when the laſt man was actually embarked, and the boats were juſt putting off, they heard him calling to them to take him in. The place was, by this time, ſo thoroughly on fire, and the ſmoke covered the beach ſo effectually, that they could ſcarcely diſcern him, though they heard his voice: however, the Lieutenant inſtantly ordered one of the boats to his relief, who found him up to the chin in water; for he had waded as far as he durſt, being extremely frightened with the apprehenſions of falling into the hands of an enemy, enraged, as they doubtleſs were, at the pillage and deſtruction of their town. On enquiring into the cauſe of his ſtaying behind, it was found, that he had taken that morning too large a doze of brandy, which had thrown him into ſo ſound a ſleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to ſcorch him. He was ſtrangely amazed at firſt opening his eyes, to ſee the houſes all on a blaze on one ſide, and ſeveral Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other. The greatneſs and ſuddenneſs of his fright inſtantly reduced him to a

ſtate of ſobriety, and gave him ſufficient preſence of mind to puſh through the thickeſt of the ſmoke, as the likelieſt means to eſcape the enemy; and, making the beſt of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durſt (for he could not ſwim) before he ventured to look back.

I cannot but obſerve here, to the honour of our people, that though there were great quantities of wine and ſpirituous liqours found in the place, yet this man was the only one who was known to have ſo far neglected his duty as to get drunk. Indeed, their whole behaviour, while they were aſhore, was much more regular than could well have been expected from ſailors who had been ſo long confined to a ſhip. And though part of this prudent demeanour muſt doubtleſs be imputed to the diligence of their officers, and to the excellent diſcipline to which they had been conſtantly inured on board the Commodore, yet it was doubtleſs no ſmall reputation to the men, that they ſhould generally refrain from indulging themſelves in thoſe intoxicating liquors, which they found ready to their hands at almoſt every ware-houſe.

Having mentioned this ſingle inſtance of drunkenneſs, I cannot paſs by another overſight, which was likewiſe the only one of its kind, and which was attended with very particular circumſtances. There was an Engliſhman, who had formerly wrought as a ſhip-carpenter in the yard at Portſmouth, but, leaving his country, had afterwards entered into the Spaniſh ſervice, and was employed by them at the port of Guaiaquil; and it being well known to his friends in England, that he was then in that part of the world, they put letters on board the Centurion, directed to him. This man being then by accident amongſt the Spaniards, who were retired to the hill at Paita,

he was ambitious, as it ſhould ſeem, of acquiring ſome reputation amongſt his new maſters. With this view he came down unarmed to a centinel of ours, placed at ſome diſtance from the fort, toward the enemy, to whom he pretended that he was deſirous of ſurrendering himſelf, and of entering into our ſervice. Our centinel had a cocked piſtol in his hand, but, being deceived by the other's fair ſpeeches, he was ſo imprudent as to let him approach much nearer than he ought; ſo that the ſhip-wright, watching his opportunity, ruſhed on the centinel, and ſeizing his piſtol, wrenched it out of his hands, and inſtantly ran away with it up the hill. By this time two of our people, who, ſeeing the fellow advance, had ſuſpected his intention, were making towards him, and were thereby prepared to purſue him; but he got to the top of the hill before they could reach him, and then turning about, fired the piſtol; whereupon his purſuers immediately returned the fire, and though he was at a great diſtance, and the creſt of the hill hid him as ſoon as they had fired, ſo that they took it for granted they had miſſed him; yet we afterwards learned, that he was ſhot through the body, and had fallen down dead, the very next ſtep he took after he was out of ſight. The centinel too, who had been thus groſly impoſed upon, did not eſcape unpuniſhed, ſince he was ordered to be ſeverely whipped for being thus ſhamefully ſurpriſed upon his poſt; and having thereby given an example of careleſſneſs, which, if followed in other inſtances, might prove fatal to us all. But to return.

By the time our people had helped their comrade out of the water, and were making the beſt of their way to the ſquadron, the flames had taken poſſeſſion of every part of the town, and had got ſuch hold, both by means of the combuſtibles

that had been diſtributed for that purpoſe, and by the ſlightneſs of the materials of which the houſes were compoſed, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was ſufficiently apparent no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could poſſibly put a ſtop to it, or prevent the entire deſtruction of the place, and all the merchandiſe contained therein. A whole town on fire at once, eſpecially where the buildings burnt with ſuch facility and violence, being a very ſingular ſpectacle, Mr Brett had the curioſity to delineate its appearance, together with that of the ſhips in the harbour, as may be ſeen in the twenty-fourth plate.

Our detachment, under Lieutenant Brett, having ſafely joined the ſquadron, the Commodore prepared to leave the place the ſame evening. He found, when he firſt came into the bay, ſix veſſels of the enemy at anchor; one whereof was the ſhip, which, according to our intelligence, was to have ſailed with the treaſure to the coaſt of Mexico, and which, as we were perſuaded ſhe was a good ſailor, we reſolved to take with us; the others were two ſnows, a bark, and two row-gallies of thirty-ſix oars a-piece. Theſe laſt, as we were afterwards informed, with many others of the ſame kind, built at divers ports, were intended to prevent our landing in the neighbourhood of Callao; for the Spaniards, on the firſt intelligence of our ſquadron and its force, expected that we would attempt the city of Lima. The Commodore having no occaſion for theſe other veſſels, had ordered all the maſts of five of them to be cut away at his firſt arrival; and, on his leaving the place, they were towed out of the harbour, and ſkuttled and ſunk; and the command of the remaining ſhip, called the Solidad, being given to Mr Hughs, the Lieutenant of the Tryal,

who had with him a crew of ten men to navigate her, the ſquadron, towards midnight, weighed anchor, and ſailed out of the bay, being at preſent augmented to ſix ſail, that is, the Centurion, and the Tryal's prize, together with the Carmelo, the Tereſa, the Carmin, and our laſt acquired veſſel, the Solidad.

And now, before I entirely acquit the account of our tranſactions at this place, it may not, perhaps, be improper to give a ſuccinct relation of the booty we got here, and of the loſs the Spaniards ſuſtained. I have before obſerved, that there were great quantities of valuable effects in the town; but as moſt of them were what we could neither diſpoſe of nor carry away, the total amount of this merchandiſe can only be rudely gueſſed at. The Spaniards, in their repreſentations ſent to the court of Madrid, (as we were afterwards aſſured) eſtimated their whole loſs at a million and a half of dollars; and when it is conſidered, that no ſmall part of the goods we burnt there were of the richeſt and moſt expenſive ſpecies, as broad cloths, ſilks, cambricks, velvets, &c. I cannot but think their valuation ſufficiently moderate. As to ourſelves, the acquiſition we made, though inconſiderable in compariſon of what we deſtroyed, was yet far from deſpicable; for the wrought plate, dollars, and other coin which fell into our hands, amounted to upwards of L. 30,000 Sterling, beſides ſeveral rings, bracelets, and jewels, whoſe intrinſic value we could not then determine; and, over and above all this, the plunder, which became the property of the immediate captors, was very great; ſo that, upon the whole, it was by much the moſt important booty we met with upon that coaſt.

There remains ſtill another matter to be related, which, on account of the ſignal honour which our national character, in thoſe parts, has thence received, and the reputation which our Commodore, in particular, has thereby acquired, merits a diſtinct and circumſtantial diſcuſſion. It has been already obſerved, that all the priſoners taken by us in our preceding prizes, were here put on ſhore and diſcharged; amongſt whom there were ſome perſons of conſiderable diſtinction, eſpecially a youth of about ſeventeen years of age, ſon of the vice-preſident of the council of Chili. As the barbarity of the buckaneers, and the artful uſe the eccleſiaſtics had made of it, had filled the natives of thoſe countries with the moſt terrible ideas of the Engliſh cruelty, we always found our priſoners, at their firſt coming on board us, to be extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety; particularly this youth, whom I laſt mentioned, having never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the moſt moving manner, regreting, in very plaintive terms, his parents, his brother, his ſiſters, and his native country, of all which he was fully perſuaded he had taken his laſt farewel, believing that he was now devoted, for the remaining part of his life, to an abject and cruel ſervitude. Indeed his companions on board, and all the Spaniards that came into our power, had the ſame deſponding opinion of their ſituation. Mr Anſon conſtantly exerted his utmoſt indeavours to efface theſe terrifying impreſſions they had received of us; always taking care, that as many of the principal people among them as there were room for, ſhould dine at his table by turns; and giving the ſtricteſt orders too, that they ſhould at all times, and in every circumſtance, be treated with the utmoſt decency and

humanity. But notwithſtanding this precaution, it was generally obſerved, that the firſt day or two they did not quit their fears, ſuſpecting the gentleneſs of their uſage to be only preparatory to ſome unthought of calamity. However, being at length convinced of our ſincerity, they grew perfectly eaſy in their ſituation, and remarkably chearful, ſo that it was often diſputable, whether or not they conſidered their being detained by us as a misfortune. For the youth I have above-mentioned, who was near two months on board us, had at laſt ſo far conquered his melancholy ſurmiſes, and had taken ſuch an affection to Mr Anſon, and ſeemed ſo much pleaſed with the manner of life, totally different from all he had ever ſeen before, that it is doubtful to me whether, if his own opinion had been aſked, he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the Centurion, to the being ſet on ſhore at Paita, where he was at liberty to return to his country and friends.

This conduct of the Commodore to his priſoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the higheſt idea of his humanity and benevolence, and induced them likewiſe (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole Engliſh nation. But, whatever they might be diſpoſed to think of Mr Anſon before the capture of the Tereſa, their veneration for him was prodigiouſly encreaſed by his conduct towards thoſe women, whom (as I have already mentioned) he took in that veſſel: for the leaving them in the poſſeſſion of their apartments, the ſtrict orders given to prevent all his people on board from approaching them, and the permitting the pilot to ſtay with them, as their guardian, were meaſures that ſeemed ſo different from what

might be expected from an enemy, and an heretic, that the Spaniards on board, though they had themſelves experienced his benificence, were ſurpriſed at this new inſtance of it; and the more ſo, as all this was done without his ever ſeeing the women, though the two daughters were both eſteemed handſome, and the youngeſt was celebrated for her uncommon beauty. The women themſelves, too, were ſo ſenſible of the obligations they owed him, for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they abſolutely refuſed to go on ſhore at Paita, till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the Centurion, to return him thanks in perſon. Indeed, all the priſoners left us, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A Jeſuit, in particular, whom the Commodore had taken, and who was an eccleſiaſtic of ſome diſtinction, could not help expreſſing himſelf with great thankfulneſs for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring that he ſhould conſider it as his duty to do Mr Anſon juſtice at all times; adding, that his uſage of the men priſoners was ſuch as could never be forgot, and ſuch as he could never fail to acknowledge and recite upon all occaſions: but that his behaviour to the women was ſo extraordinary, and ſo extremely honourable, that he doubted all the regard due to his own eccleſiaſtic character would be ſcarcely ſufficient to render it credible. Indeed we were afterwards informed, that he and the reſt of our priſoners had not been ſilent on this head, but had, both at Lima, and at other places, given the greateſt encomiums to our Commodore; the Jeſuit, in particular, as we were told, having, on his account, interpreted, in a lax and hipothetical ſenſe, that article

of his church, which aſſerts the impoſſibility of heretics being ſaved.

Nor let it be imagined, that the impreſſions which the Spaniards hence received, to our advantage, is a matter of ſmall import: for, not to mention ſeveral of our countrymen, who have already felt the good effects of theſe prepoſſeſſions, the Spaniards are a nation, whoſe good opinion of us is doubtleſs of more conſequence than that of all the world beſides; not only as the commerce we had formerly carried on with them, and perhaps may again hereafter, is ſo extremely valuable, but alſo as the tranſacting, it does ſo immediately depend on the honour and good faith of thoſe who are intruſted with its management. However, had no national conveniencies attended it, the Commodore's equity and good temper would no leſs have deterred him from all tyranny and cruelty to thoſe whom the fortune of war had put into his hands. I ſhall only add, that, by his conſtant attachment to theſe humane and prudent maxims, he has acquired a diſtinguiſhed reputation amongſt the Creolian Spaniards, which is not confined merely to the coaſt of the South Seas, but is extended through all the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; ſo that his name is frequently to be met with in the mouths of moſt of the Spaniſh inhabitants of that prodigious empire

CHAP. VII.

From our departure from Paita, to our arrival at Quibo.

WHEN we got under ſail from the coaſt of Paita, (which, as I have already obſerved, was about midnight, on the 16th of November)

we ſtood to the weſtward, and in the morning the Commodore gave orders that the whole ſquadron ſhould ſpread themſelves, to look out for the Glouceſter; for we then drew near the ſtation where Captain Mitchell had been directed to cruiſe, and we hourly expected to get ſight of him; but the whole day paſſed without ſeeing him.

And now a jealouſy which had taken its riſe at Paita, between thoſe who had been commanded on ſhore for the attack, and thoſe who had continued on board, grew to ſuch a height, that the Commodore being made acquainted with it, thought it neceſſary to interpoſe his authority to appeaſe it. The ground of this animoſity was the plunder gotten at Paita, which thoſe who had acted on ſhore had appropriated to themſelves, conſidering it as a reward for the riſques they had run, and the reſolution they had ſhown in that ſervice. But thoſe who had remained on board, looked on this as a very partial and unjuſt procedure, urging, that had it been left to their choice, they ſhould have preferred the acting on ſhore to the continuing on board; that their duty while their comrades were on ſhore, was extremely fatiguing; for, beſides the labour of the day, they were continually under arms all night to ſecure the priſoners, whoſe numbers exceeded their own, and of whom it was then neceſſary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts they might have formed in that critical conjuncture: that, upon the whole, it could not be denied, but that the preſence of a ſufficient force on board, was as neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, as the action of the others on ſhore; and therefore thoſe who had continued on board, maintained, that they could not be deprived of their ſhare of the plunder without ma-

nifeſt injuſtice. Theſe were the conteſts amongſt our men, which were carried on with great heat on both ſides. And though the plunder in queſtion was a very trifle in compariſon of the treaſure taken in the place (in which there was no doubt but thoſe on board had an equal right) yet, as the obſtinacy of ſailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in diſpute, the Commodore thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this ferment betimes. Accordingly, the morning after our leaving Paita, he ordered all hands upon the quarter-deck, where, addreſſing himſelf to thoſe who had been detached on ſhore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their ſervices on that occaſion: but then repreſenting to them the reaſons urged by thoſe who had continued on board, for an equal diſtribution of the plunder, he told them, that he thought theſe reaſons very concluſive, and that the expectations of their comrades were juſtly founded; and therefore he inſiſted, that not only the men, but all the officers likewiſe who had been employed in taking the place, ſhould produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck, and that it ſhould be impartially divided amongſt the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commiſſion. And, to prevent thoſe who had been in poſſeſſion of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their ſhare, the Commodore added, that, as an encouragement to others who might be hereafter employed on like ſervices, he would give his entire ſhare to be diſtributed amongſt thoſe who had been detached for the attack of the place. Thus this troubleſome affair, which, if permitted to have gone on, might perhaps have been attended with miſchievous conſequences, was, by the Commo-

dore's prudence, ſoon appeaſed, to the general ſatisfaction of the ſhip's company; not but there were ſome few, whoſe ſelfiſh diſpoſitions were uninfluenced by the juſtice of this procedure, and who were incapable of diſcerning the force of equity, however glaring, when it tended to deprive them of any part of what they had once got into their hands.

This important buſineſs employed the beſt part of the day after we came from Paita. And now, at night, having no ſight of the Glouceſter, the Commodore ordered the ſquadron to bring to, that we might not paſs her in the dark. The next morning we again looked out for her, and, at ten, we ſaw a ſail, to which we gave chace; and, at two in the afternoon, we came near enough to diſcover her to be the Glouceſter, with a ſmall veſſel in tow. About an hour after, we were joined by them; and then we learned, that Captain Mitchell, in the whole time of his cruiſe, had only taken two prizes, one of them being a ſmall ſnow, whoſe cargo conſiſted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about L. 7000 in ſpecie; and the other, a large boat or launch, which the Glouceſter's barge came up with near the ſhore. The priſoners on board this laſt veſſel alledged, that they were very poor, and that their loading conſiſted only of cotton; though the circumſtances in which the barge ſurpriſed them, ſeemed to inſinuate, that they were more opulent than they pretended to be; for the Glouceſter's people found them at dinner upon a pigeon-pye, ſerved up in ſilver diſhes. However, the officer who commanded the barge, having opened ſeveral of the jars on board, to ſatisfy his curioſity, and finding nothing in them but cotton, he was inclined to believe the account the priſoners gave him; but

the cargo being taken into the Glouceſter, and there examined more ſtrictly, they were agreeably ſurpriſed to find, that the whole was a very extraordinary piece of falſe package; and that there was concealed amongſt the cotton, in every jar, a conſiderable quantity of double doubloons and dollars, to the amount, on the whole, of near L. 12,000. This treaſure was going to Paita, and belonged to the ſame merchants, who were the proprietors of the greateſt part of the money we had taken there; ſo that, had this boat eſcaped the Glouceſter, it is probable her cargo would have fallen into our hands. Beſides theſe two prizes which we have mentioned, the Glouceſter's people told us, that they had been in ſight of two or three other ſhips of the enemy, which had eſcaped them; and one of them, we had reaſon to believe, from ſome of our intelligence, was of immenſe value.

Being now joined by the Glouceſter, and her prize, it was reſolved that we ſhould ſtand to the northward, and make the beſt of our way either to Cape St Lucas or California, or to Cape Corientes, on the coaſt of Mexico. Indeed the Commodore, when at Juan Fernandes, had determined with himſelf to touch in the neighbourhood of Panama, and to endeavour to get ſome correſpondence over-land with the fleet under the command of Admiral Vernon. For, when we departed from England, we left a large force at Portſmouth, which was intended to be ſent to the Weſt Indies, there to be employed in an expedition againſt ſome of the Spaniſh ſettlements. And Mr Anſon taking it for granted, that this enterprize had ſucceeded, and that Porto Bello, perhaps, might be then garriſoned by Britiſh troops, he hoped, that, on his arrival at the Iſthmus, he ſhould eaſily procure an intercourſe with

our countrymen on the other ſide, either by the Indians, who were greatly diſpoſed in our favour, or even by the Spaniards themſelves, ſome of whom, for proper rewards, might be induced to carry on this intelligence, which, after it was once begun, might be continued with very little difficulty; ſo that Mr Anſon flattered himſelf, that he might, by this means, have received a reinforcement of men from the other ſide, and that, by ſettling a prudent plan of operations with our Commanders in the Weſt-Indies, he might have taken even Panama itſelf, which would have given to the Britiſh nation the poſſeſſion of that iſthmus, whereby we ſhould have been, in effect, maſters of all the treaſures of Peru, and ſhould have had in our hands an equivalent for any demands, however extraordinary, which we might have been induced to have made on either of the branches of the houſe of Bourbon.

Such were the projects which the Commodore revolved in his thoughts at the iſland of Juan Fernandes, notwithſtanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced. And indeed, had the ſucceſs of our force in the Weſt-Indies been anſwerable to the general expectation, it cannot be denied but theſe views would have been the moſt prudent that could have been thought of. But, in examining the papers which were found on board the Carmelo, the firſt prize we took, we learned (though I then omitted to mention it) that our attempt againſt Carthagena had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet, in that part of the world, would engage in any new enterpriſe that would at all facilitate this plan. Mr Anſon, therefore, gave over all hopes of being reinforced acroſs the iſthmus, and conſequently had no inducement at preſent to proceed to Panama, as he was incapable of attacking the

place; and there was great reaſon to believe, that, by this time, there was a general embargo on all the coaſt.

The only feaſible meaſure then which was left us, was to ſteer as ſoon as poſſible to the ſouthern parts of California, or to the adjacent coaſt of Mexico, there to cruize for the Manila galleon, which we knew was now at ſea, bound to the port of Acapulco: and we doubted not to get on that ſtation time enough to intercept her; for this ſhip does not uſually arrive at Acapulco, till towards the middle of January, and we were now but in the middle of November, and did not conceive that our paſſage thither would coſt us above a month or five weeks; ſo that we imagined we had near twice as much time as was neceſſary for our purpoſe. Indeed there was a buſineſs which we foreſaw would occaſion ſome delay, but we flattered ourſelves, that it would be diſpatched in four or five days, and therefore could not interrupt our project. This was the recruiting of our water; for the number of priſoners we had entertained on board, ſince our leaving the iſland of Fernandes, had ſo far exhauſted our ſtock, that it was impoſſible to think of venturing upon this paſſage to the coaſt of Mexico, till we had procured a freſh ſupply; eſpecially as at Paita, where we had ſome hopes of getting a quantity, we did not find enough for our conſumption during our ſtay there. It was for ſome time a matter of deliberation, where we ſhould take in this neceſſary article; but, by conſulting the accounts of former navigators, and examining our priſoners, we at laſt reſolved for the iſland of Quibo, ſituated at the mouth of the bay of Panama; nor was it but on good grounds, that the Commodore conceived this to be the propereſt place for watering the ſquadron. Indeed, there was a ſmall

ſland called Cocos, which was leſs out of our way than Quibo, where ſome of the Buccaneers have pretended they found water, but none of our priſoners knew any thing of it; and it was thought too dangerous to riſk the ſafety of the ſquadron, by expoſing ourſelves to the hazard of not meeting with water when we came there, on the mere authority of theſe legendary writers, of whoſe miſrepreſentations and falſities we had almoſt daily experience. Beſides, by going to Quibo, we were not without hopes, that ſome of the enemies ſhips, bound to or from Panama, might fall into our hands, particularly ſuch of them as were put to ſea before they had any intelligence of our ſquadron.

Determined therefore, by theſe reaſons, for Quibo, we directed our courſe northward, being eight ſail in company, and conſequently, having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and, on the 19th, at day-break, we diſcovered Cape Blanco, bearing, S. S. E $\frac{1}{2}$ E. ſeven miles diſtant. This Cape lies in the latitude of 40°: 15′ ſouth, and is always made by ſhips bound either to windward or leeward; ſo that off this Cape is a moſt excellent ſtation to cruize upon the enemy. By this time we found, that our laſt prize, the Solidad, was far from anſwering the character given her, of a good ſailor; and ſhe, and the Santa Tereſa, delaying us conſiderably, the Commodore commanded them both to be cleared of every thing that might prove uſeful to the reſt of the ſhips, and then to be burned; and having given proper inſtructions, and a rendezvous to the Glouceſter and the other prizes, we proceeded in our courſe for Quibo; and on the 22d, in the morning, ſaw the iſland of Plata, bearing eaſt, diſtant four leagues. Here one of our prizes was ordered to ſtand cloſe in with it,

both to diſcover if there were any ſhips between that iſland and the continent, and likewiſe to look out for a ſtream of freſh water which was reported to be there, and which would have ſaved us the trouble of going to Quibo: but ſhe returned without having ſeen any ſhip, or finding any water. At three in the afternoon, Point Manto bore S. E. by E. ſeven miles diſtant; and there being a town of the ſame name in the neighbourhood, Captain Mitchell took this opportunity of ſending away ſeveral of his priſoners from the Glouceſter, in the Spaniſh launch. The boats were now daily employed in diſtributing proviſions on board our prizes, to complete their ſtock for ſix months: and that the Centurion might be the better prepared to give the Manila ſhip (one of which we are told, was of an immenſe ſize) a warm reception, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight ſtocks in the main and foretops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of ſwivel guns.

On the 25th, we had a ſight of the iſland of Gallo, bearing E. S. E $\frac{1}{2}$ E. four leagues diſtant; and, from hence, we croſſed the bay of Panama with a N. W. courſe, hoping that this would have carried us in a direct line to the iſland of Quibo; but we afterwards found that we ought to have ſtood more to the weſtward; for the winds, in a ſhort time, began to incline to that quarter, and made it difficult to gain the iſland. After paſſing the equinoctial (which we did on the 22d) and leaving the neighbourhood of the Cordilleras, and ſtanding more and more towards the iſthmus, where the communication of the atmoſphere to the eaſtward and the weſtward, was no longer interrupted, we found, in very few days, an extraordinary alteration in the climate. For, inſtead of that uniform temperature, where

neither the exceſs of heat or cold was to be complained of, we had now, for ſeveral days together, cloſe and ſultry weather, reſembling what we had before met with on the coaſt of Brazil, and in other parts between the tropics on the eaſtern ſide of America. We had, beſides, frequent calms and heavy rains; which we, at firſt, aſcribed to the neighbourhood of the line, where this kind of weather is generally found to prevail at all ſeaſons of the year: but, obſerving that it attended us to the latitude of ſeven degrees north, we were at length induced to believe, that the ſtormy ſeaſon, or, as the Spaniards call it, the Vandevals, was not yet over; tho' many writers, particularly Captain Shelvocke, poſitively aſſert, that this ſeaſon begins in June, and is ended in November; and our priſoners all affirmed the ſame thing: but perhaps its end may not be always conſtant, and it might laſt this year longer than uſual.

On the 27th, Captain Mitchell having finiſhed the clearing of his largeſt prize, ſhe was ſcuttled, and ſet on fire; but we ſtill conſiſted of five ſhips, and were fortunate enough to find them all good ſailors; ſo that we never occaſioned any delay to each other. Being now in a rainy climate, which we had been long diſuſed to, we found it neceſſary to caulk the decks and ſides of the Centurion, to prevent the rain-water from running into her.

On the 3d of December, we had a view of the iſland of Quibo, the eaſt end of which then bore from us N. N. W. four leagues diſtant, and the iſland of Quicara W. N. W. about the ſame diſtance. Here we ſtruck ground with ſixty-five fathom of line, the bottom conſiſting of grey ſand, with black ſpecks. There is inſerted in the 28th plate, (being contained in the ſame plate

with the view of the hill of Petaplan) a view of theſe two iſlands, where (*a*) repreſents the S. E. end of Quibo, bearing N. by W. four leagues diſtant; and (*b*) the iſland of Quicara, which bears from the point (*a*) W. S. W. ½ S. and is diſtant from it four leagues, the point (*a*) being itſelf in the latitude of 7°: 20′ north. When we had thus got ſight of the land, we found the wind to hang weſterly: and therefore, night coming on, we thought it adviſable to ſtand off till morning, as there are ſaid to be ſome ſhoals in the entrance of the channel. At ſix the next morning, Point Mariato bore N. E. ½ N. three or four leagues diſtant. In weathering this point, all the ſquadron, except the Centurion, were very near it; and the Glouceſter, being the leewardmoſt ſhip, was forced to tack, and ſtand to the ſouthward, ſo that we loſt ſight of her. At nine, the iſland of Sebaco bore N. W. by N. four leagues diſtant: but the wind ſtill proving unfavourable, we were obliged to ply on and off for the ſucceeding twenty-four hours, and were frequently taken a-back. However, at eleven the next morning, the wind happily ſettled in the S. S. W. and we bore away for the S. S. E. end of the iſland, and, about three in the afternoon, entered the Canal Bueno, paſſing round a ſhoal which ſtretches off about two miles from the ſouth point of the iſland. This Canal Bueno, or Good Channel, is at leaſt ſix miles in breadth; and, as we had the wind large, we kept in a good depth of water, generally from twenty-eight to thirty-three fathom, and came not within a mile and a half diſtance of the breakers; though in all probability, if it had been neceſſary, we might have ventured much nearer, without incurring the leaſt danger. At ſeven in the evening, we anchored in thirty-three fathom muddy ground; the ſouth point of the iſland

bearing S. E. by S. a remarkable high part of the iſland W. by N. and the iſland Sebaco E. by N. Being thus arrived at this iſland of Quibo, the account of the place, and of our tranſactions there, ſhall be referred to the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

Our proceedings at Quibo, with an account of the place.

THE next morning after our anchoring, an officer was diſpatched on ſhore to diſcover the watering place, who having found it, returned before noon; and then we ſent the long-boat for a load of water, and, at the ſame time, we weighed, and ſtood further in with our ſhips. At two, we came again to an anchor in twenty-two fathom, with a bottom of rough gravel intermixed with broken ſhells; the watering place now bearing from us N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. only three quarters of a mile diſtant. A plan of the road where we lay, and of the eaſt end of the iſland, is to be ſeen in the 20th plate, where the ſoundings are laid down, ſuch as we found them, the latitude of the S. E. point of the iſland being, as hath been already mentioned, 7° : 20′ north.

This iſland of Quibo is extremely convenient for wooding and watering, ſince the trees grow cloſe to the high water-mark, and a large rapid ſtream of freſh water runs over the ſandy beach into the ſea; ſo that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted. The whole iſland is of a very moderate height, excepting one part. It conſiſts of a continued wood ſpread all over the whole ſurface

of the country, which preſerves its verdure the year round. Amongſt the other wood, we found there abundance of caſſia, and a few lime trees. It appeared ſingular to us, that conſidering the climate and the ſhelter, we ſhould ſee no other birds than parrots, parroquets, and mackaws; indeed of theſe laſt there were prodigious flights. Next to theſe birds, the animals we found in moſt plenty were monkeys and guanos, and theſe we frequently killed for food; for notwithſtanding there was many herds of deer upon the place, yet the difficulty of penetrating the woods prevented our coming near them; ſo that though we ſaw them often, we killed only two during our ſtay. Our priſoners aſſured us that this iſland abounded with tygers; and we did once diſcover the print of a tyger's paw upon the beach, but the tygers themſelves we never ſaw. The Spaniards too informed us, that there was frequently found in the woods a moſt miſchievous ſerpent, called the flying ſnake, which, they ſaid, darted itſelf from the boughs of trees on either man or beaſt that came within its reach, and whoſe ſting they believed to be inevitable death. Beſides theſe dangerous land-animals, the ſea hereabouts is infeſted with great numbers of alligators of an extraordinary ſize; and we often obſerved a large kind of flat fiſh, jumping a conſiderable height out of the water, which we ſuppoſed to be the fiſh that is ſaid frequently to deſtroy the pearl-divers, by claſping them in its fins as they riſe from the bottom; and we were told, that the divers, for their ſecurity, are now always armed with a ſharp knife, which, when they are entangled, they ſtick into the belly of the fiſh, and thereby diſengage themſelves from its embraces.

Whilſt the ſhip continued here at anchor, the Commodore, attended by ſome of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward; and they afterwards ranged all along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland. And in the places where they put on ſhore, in the courſe of this expedition, they generally found the ſoil to be extremely rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular, near the N. E. point of this iſland, they diſcovered a natural caſcade, which ſurpaſſed, as they conceived, every thing of this kind which human art or induſtry hath hitherto produced. It was a river of tranſparent water, about forty yards wide, which rolled down a declivity of near a hundred and fifty in length. The channel it fell in was very irregular; for it was entirely compoſed of rock, both its ſides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks; and by theſe the courſe of the water was frequently interrupted; for in ſome parts it ran ſloping with a rapid but uniform motion, while in others it tumbled over the ledges of rocks with a perpendicular deſcent.

All the neighbourhood of this ſtream was a fine wood; and even the huge maſſes of rock which overhung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty foreſt-trees. Whilſt the Commodore, with thoſe accompanying him, were attentively viewing this place, and were remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks and the wood, there came in ſight (as it were ſtill to heighten and animate the proſpect) a prodigious flight of mackaws, which hovering over this ſpot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing about it, afforded a moſt brilliant appearance, by the glittering of the ſun on their variegated plumage; ſo that

ſome of the ſpectators cannot refrain from a kind of tranſport, when they recount the complicated beauties which occurred in this extraordinary water-fall.

In this expedition which the boat made along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, though they diſcovered no inhabitants, yet they ſaw many huts upon the ſhore, and great heaps of ſhells of fine mother of pearl, ſcattered up and down in different places. Theſe were the remains left by the pearl-fiſhers from Panama, who often frequent this place in the ſummer-ſeaſon; for the pearl oyſters which are to be met with every where in the bay of Panama, do ſo abound at Quibo, that, by advancing a very little way into the ſea, you might ſtoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are uſually very large, and out of curioſity we opened ſome of them with a view of taſting them, but we found them extremely touch and unpalatable. And having mentioned theſe oyſters, and the pearl fiſhery, I muſt beg leave to recite a few particulars relating to that ſubject.

The oyſters moſt productive of pearls are thoſe found in conſiderable depths; for though what are taken up by wading near the ſhore are of the ſame ſpecies, yet the pearls they contain are few in number, and very ſmall. It is ſaid too, that the pearl partakes, in ſome degree, of the quality of the bottom on which the oyſter is lodged; ſo that if the bottom be muddy, the pearl is darkand ill-coloured.

The taking up of oyſters from great depths, for the ſake of their pearls, is a work performed by negro-ſlaves, of which the inhabitants of Panama, and the neighbouring coaſt, formerly kept vaſt numbers, which were carefully trained to this buſineſs. Theſe are ſaid not to be eſteem-

ed complete divers, till they have, by degrees, been able to protract their ſtay under water ſo long, that the blood guſhes out from their noſe, mouth, and ears. And it is the tradition of the country, that when this accident has once befallen them, they dive for the future with much greater facility than before; and they have no apprehenſion either that any inconvenience can attend it, the bleeding generally ſtopping of itſelf, or that there is any probability of their being ever ſubject to it a ſecond time. But to return from this digreſſion.

Though the pearl-oyſter, as hath been ſaid, was incapable of being eaten, yet that defect was more than repaid by the turtle; a dainty which the ſea at this place furniſhed us with in the greateſt plenty and perfection. There are generally reckoned four ſpecies of turtle; that is, the trunk turtle, the logger-head, the hawkſbill, and the green turtle. The two firſt are rank and unwholſome; the hawksbill (which affords the tortoiſe-ſhell) is but indifferent food, though better than the other two; but the green turtle is generally eſteemed, by the greateſt part of thoſe who are acquainted with its taſte, to be the moſt delicious of all eatables; and that it is a moſt wholeſome food, we are amply convinced by our own experience; for we fed on this laſt ſpecies, or the green turtle, near four months; and conſequently, had it been in any degree noxious, its ill effects could not poſſibly have eſcaped us. At this iſland we caught what quantity we pleaſed with great facility; for as they are an amphibious animal, and get on ſhore to lay their eggs, which they generally depoſit in a large hole in the ſand, juſt above the high-water mark, covering them up, and leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the ſun, we

uſually diſperſed ſeveral of our men along the beach, whoſe buſineſs it was to turn them on their backs when they came to land; and the turtle being thereby prevented from getting away, we brought them off at our leiſure. By this means we not only ſecured a ſufficient ſtock for the time we ſtayed on the iſland, but we carried a number of them with us to ſea, which proved of great ſervice, both in lengthening out our ſtore of proviſion, and in heartning the whole crew with an almoſt conſtant ſupply of freſh and palatable food. For the turtle being large, they generally weighing about 200 lb. weight each; thoſe we took with us laſted near a month; ſo that before our ſtore was ſpent, we met with a freſh recruit on the coaſt of Mexico, where, in the heat of the day, we often ſaw great numbers of them faſt aſleep, floating on the ſurface of the water. Upon diſcovering them, we uſually ſent out our boat, with a man in the bow, who was a dextrous diver; and as the boat came within a few yards of the turtle, the diver plunged into the water, taking care to riſe cloſe upon it, when ſeizing the ſhell near the tail, and preſſing down the hinder parts, the turtle was thereby awakened, and began to ſtrike with its claws; which motion ſupported both it and the diver, till the boat came up and took them in. By this management we never wanted turtle for the ſucceeding four months in which we continued at ſea; and though, when at the iſland of Quibo, we had already been three months on board, without otherwiſe putting our feet on ſhore, than in the few days we ſtayed there (except thoſe employed in the attack at Paita) yet, in the whole ſeven months, from our leaving Juan Fernandes, to our anchoring in the harbour of Chequetan, we buried no more in the whole ſquadron than

two men; a moſt inconteſtible proof, that the turtle on which we fed for the laſt four months of this term, was at leaſt innocent, if not ſomething more.

Conſidering the ſcarcity of other proviſions on ſome part of the coaſt of the South Seas, it appears wonderful, that a ſpecies of food, ſo very palatable and ſalubrious as turtle, and there ſo much abounding, ſhould be proſcribed by the Spaniards as unwholeſome, and little leſs than poiſonous. Perhaps, the ſtrange appearance of this animal may have been the foundation of this ridiculous and ſuperſticious averſion, which is ſtrongly rooted in the inhabitants of thoſe countries, and of which we had many inſtances during the courſe of this navigation. I have already obſerved, that we put our Spaniſh priſoners on ſhore at Paita, and that the Glouceſter ſent theirs to Manta; but as we had taken in our prizes ſome Indian and negro-ſlaves, we did not diſmiſs them with their maſters, but continued them on board, as our crews were thin, to aſſiſt in navigating our ſhips. Theſe poor people being poſſeſſed with the prejudices of the country they came from, were aſtoniſhed at our feeding on turtle, and ſeemed fully perſuaded that it would ſoon deſtroy us; but finding that none of us died, nor even ſuffered in our health by a continuation of this diet, they at laſt got ſo far the better of their averſion, as to be perſuaded to taſte it, to which the abſence of all other kinds of freſh proviſions might not a little contribute. However, it was with great reluctance, and very ſparingly, that they firſt began to eat of it; but the reliſh improving upon them by degrees, they at laſt grew extremely fond of it, and preferred it to every other kind of food, and often felicitated each other on the happy experience they had acquired,

and the luxurious and plentiful repaſts it would always be in their power to procure, when they ſhould again return back to their country. Thoſe who are acquainted with the manner of life of theſe unhappy wretches, need not be told, that next to large draughts of ſpirituous liquors, plenty of tolerable food is the greateſt joy they know; and conſequently, the diſcovering the means of being always ſupplied with what quantity they pleaſed of a food more delicious to the palate than any their haughty lords and maſters could indulge in, was doubtleſs a circumſtance which they conſidered as the moſt fortunate that could befal them. After this digreſſion, which the prodigious quantity of turtle on this iſland of Quibo, and the ſtore of it we thence took to ſea, in ſome meaſure led me into, I ſhall now return to our own proceedings.

In three days time we had compleated our buſineſs at this place, and were extremely impatient to depart, that we might arrive time enough on the coaſt of Mexico to intercept the Manila galeon. But the wind being contrary, detained us a night; and the next day when we got into the Offing, which we did through the ſame channel by which we entered, we were obliged to keep hovering about the iſland, in hopes of getting ſight of the Glouceſter, who, as I have in the laſt chapter mentioned, was ſeparated from us on our firſt arrival. It was the ninth of December, in the morning, when we put to ſea; and continuing to the ſouthward of the iſland, looking out for the Glouceſter, we on the 10th, at five in the afternoon, diſcerned a ſmall ſail to the northward of us, to which we gave chace, and coming up with her, took her. She proved to be a bark from Panama, called the Jeſu Nazareno. She had nothing on board but ſome oa-

…m, about a ton of rock-ſalt, and between L. 30 and L. 40 in ſpecie, moſt of it conſiſting of ſmall ſilver money, intended for purchaſing a cargo of proviſions at Cheripe, an inconſiderable village on the continent.

And on occaſion of this prize, I cannot but obſerve, for the uſe of future cruizers, that had we been in want of proviſions, we had, by this capture, an obvious method of ſupplying ourſelves. For at Cheripe there is a conſtant ſtore of proviſions prepared for the veſſels who go thither every week from Panama, the market of Panama being chiefly ſupplied from thence; ſo that by putting a few of our hands on board our prize, we might eaſily have ſeized a large quantity without any hazard, ſince Cheripe is a place of no ſtrength. As proviſions are the ſtaple commodity of that place, and of its neighbourhood, the knowledge of this circumſtance may be of great uſe to ſuch cruizers as find their proviſions grow ſcant, and yet are deſirous of continuing on that coaſt as long as poſſible. But to return.

On the 12th of December we were at laſt relieved from the perplexity we had ſuffered, occaſioned by the ſeparation of the Glouceſter; for on that day ſhe joined us, and informed us, that in tacking to the ſouthward on our firſt arrival, ſhe had ſprung her fore top-maſt, which had diſabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us ſooner. And now we ſcuttled and ſunk the Jeſu Nazareno, the prize we took laſt; and having the greateſt impatience to get into a proper ſtation for intercepting the Manila galeon, we ſtood altogether to the weſtward, leaving the iſland of Quibo, notwithſtanding all the impediments we met with, about nine days after our firſt coming in ſight of it.

CHAP. IX.

From Quibo to the coaſt of Mexico.

ON the 12th of December we ſtood from Quibo to the weſtward, and, the ſame day, the Commodore delivered freſh inſtructions to the Captains of the men of war, and the Commanders of our prizes, appointing them the rendezvouſes they were to make, and the courſes they were to ſteer in caſe of a ſeparation. And firſt they were directed to uſe all poſſible diſpatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land between the latitudes of 18 and 19 degrees; from thence they were to beat up the coaſt at eight or ten leagues diſtance from the ſhore, till they came a-breaſt of Cape Corientes, in the latitude of 20°: 20′. After they arrived there, they were to continue cruizing on that ſtation till the 14th of February, when they were to depart for the middle iſland of the Tres Marias, in the latitude of 21°: 25′, bearing from Cape Corientes N. W. by N. twenty five leagues diſtant: and if, at this iſland, they did not meet the Commodore, they were there to recruit their wood and water, and then immediately to proceed for the iſland of Macao, on the coaſt of China. Theſe orders being diſtributed to all the ſhips, we had little doubt of arriving ſoon upon our intended ſtation, as we expected, upon the increaſing our offing from Quibo, to fall in with the regular trade-wind; but, to our extreme vexation, we were baffled for near a month, either by tempeſtuous weather from the weſtern quarter, or by dead calms and heavy rains, attended with a ſultry air; ſo that it was the 25th of December before we ſaw the iſland of Cocos, which, according to our reckoning, was only a hundred

leagues from the continent; and even then we had the mortification to make ſo little way, that we did not loſe ſight of it again in five days.

This iſland we found to be in the latitude of 5°: 20′ N. It has a high hummock towards the weſtern part, which deſcends gradually, and, at laſt, terminates in a low point to the eaſtward. From the iſland of Cocos we ſtood W. by N. and were till the 9th of January in running a hundred leagues more. We had, at firſt, flattered ourſelves, that the uncertain weather, and weſtern gales we met with, were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent, from which, as we got more diſtant, we expected every day to be relieved, by falling in with the eaſtern trade-wind: but, as our hopes were ſo long baffled, and our patience quite exhauſted, we began, at length, to deſpair of ſucceeding in the great purpoſe we had in view, that of intercepting the Manila galeon. This produced a general dejection amongſt us, as we had at firſt conſidered the project as almoſt infallible, and had indulged ourſelves in the moſt boundleſs hopes of the advantages we ſhould thence receive. However, our deſpondency was at laſt ſomewhat alleviated by a favourable change of the wind; for, on the 9th of January, a gale ſprung up the firſt time from the N. E. and, on this, we took the Carmelo in tow, as the Glouceſter did the Carmin, making all the ſail we could to improve the advantage, becauſe we ſtill ſuſpected that it was only a temporary gale, which would not laſt long; though, the next day, we had the ſatisfaction to find, that the wind did not only continue in the ſame quarter, but blew with ſo much briſkneſs and ſteadineſs, that we no longer doubted of its being the true trade-wind. As we now advanced a-pace towards our ſtation, our hopes began

again to revive, and our former deſpair, by degrees, gave place to more ſanguine prejudices; inſomuch that, though the cuſtomary ſeaſon of the arrival of the galeon at Acapulco was already elapſed, yet we were, by this time, unreaſonable enough to flatter ourſelves that ſome accidental delay might, for our advantage, lengthen out her paſſage beyond its uſual limits.

When we got into the trade-wind, we found no alteration in it till the 17th of January, when we were advanced to the latitude of 12°: 50′; but on that day it ſhifted to the weſtward of the north: this change we imputed to our having haled up too ſoon, though we then eſteemed ourſelves full ſeventy leagues from the coaſt; whence, and by our former experience, we were fully ſatisfied, that the trade-wind doth not take place but at a conſiderable diſtance from the continent. After this the wind was not ſo favourable to us as it had been; however, we ſtill continued to advance; and, on the 26th of January, being then to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and ſtood to the eaſtward, with a view of making the land.

In the preceding fortnight we caught ſome turtle on the ſurface of the water, and ſeveral dolphins, bonitoes, and albicores. One day, as one of the ſail-maker's mates was fiſhing from the end of the gib-boom, he loſt his hold, and dropped into the ſea; and the ſhip, which was then going at the rate of ſix or ſeven knots, went directly over him; but as we had the Carmelo in tow, we inſtantly called out to the people on board her, who threw him over ſeveral ends of ropes, one of which he fortunately caught hold of, and, twiſting it round his arm, he was thereby haled into the ſhip, without having received any other

injury than a wrench in the arm, of which he ſoon recovered.

When, on the 26th of January, we ſtood to the eaſtward, we expected, by our reckonings, to have fallen in with the land on the 28th, yet, though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no ſight of it at ſun-ſet, and therefore we continued our courſe, not doubting but that we ſhould ſee it by the next morning. About ten at night we diſcovered a light on the larboard bow, bearing from us N. N. E. The Tryal's prize too, who was about a mile a-head of us, made a ſignal at the ſame time, for ſeeing a ſail. As we had none of us any doubt but what we ſaw was a ſhip's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm perſuaſion that it was the Manila galeon, which had been ſo long the object of our wiſhes; and, what added to our alacrity, was our expectation of meeting with two of them inſtead of one; for we took it for granted, that the light in view was carried in the top of one ſhip for a direction to her conſort. We immediately caſt off the Carmelo, and preſſed forward with all our canvaſs, making a ſignal for the Glouceſter to do the ſame. Thus we chaſed the light, keeping all our hands at their reſpective quarters, under an expectation of engaging within half an hour, as we ſometimes conceived the chace to be about a mile diſtant, and, at other times, to be within reach of our guns; for ſome on board us poſitively averred, that, beſides the light, they could plainly diſcern her ſails. The Commodore himſelf was ſo fully perſuaded that we ſhould be ſoon along ſide of her, that he ſent for his firſt Lieutenant, who commanded between decks, and directed him to ſee all the great guns loaded with two round-ſhot for the firſt broad-ſide, and after that with one round-ſhot and one grape, ſtrictly charging him, at the ſame time, not to ſuffer a gun to be fired till

he, the Commodore, ſhould give orders, which he informed the Lieutenant, would not be till we arrived within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy. In this conſtant and eager attention we continued all night, always preſuming, that another quarter of an hour would bring us up with this Manila ſhip, whoſe wealth, and that of her ſuppoſed conſort, we now eſtimated by round millions. But, when the morning broke, and day-light came on, we were moſt ſtrangely and vexatiouſly diſappointed, by finding, that the light which had occaſioned all this buſtle and expectancy was only a fire on the ſhore. It muſt be owned the circumſtances of this deception were ſo extraordinary as to be ſcarcely credible; for, by our run during the night, and the diſtance of the land in the morning, there was no doubt to be made but this fire, when we firſt diſcovered it, was above twenty-five leagues from us; and yet, I believe, there was no perſon on board who doubted of its being a ſhip's light, or of its being near at hand. It was indeed upon a very high mountain, and continued burning for ſeveral days afterwards; however, it was not a vulcano, but rather, as I ſuppoſe, a tract of ſtubble or heath, ſet on fire for ſome purpoſe of agriculture.

At ſun-riſing, after this mortifying deluſion, we found ourſelves about nine leagues off the land, which extended from the N. W. to E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. On this land we obſerved two remarkable hummocks, ſuch as are uſually called paps, which bore north from us. Theſe a Spaniſh pilot, and two Indians, who were the only perſons amongſt us that pretended to have traded in this part of the world, affirmed to be over the harbour of Acapulco. Indeed, we very much doubted their knowledge of the coaſt; for we found theſe paps to be in the latitude of 17° : 56′, whereas thoſe

over Acapulco are ſaid to be ſeventeen degrees only: and we afterwards found our ſuſpicions of their ſkill to be well grounded: however, they were very confident, and aſſured us, that the height of the mountains was itſelf an infallible mark of the harbour, the coaſt, as they pretended, though falſly, being generally low to the eaſtward and weſtward of it.

Being now in the tract of the Manila galeon, it was a great doubt with us, as it was near the end of January, whether ſhe was or was not arrived; but examining our priſoners about it, they aſſured us ſhe was ſome times known to come in after the middle of February; and they endeavoured to perſuade us, that the fire we had ſeen on ſhore was a proof that ſhe was yet at ſea; it being cuſtomary, as they ſaid, to make uſe of theſe fires as ſignals for her direction, when ſhe continued longer out than ordinary. On this reaſoning of our priſoners, ſtrengthened by our propenſity to believe them in a matter, which ſo pleaſingly flattered our wiſhes, we reſolved to cruiſe for her ſome days; and we accordingly ſpread our ſhips, at the diſtance of twelve leagues from the coaſt, in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible ſhe ſhould paſs us unobſerved; however, not ſeeing her ſoon, we were at intervals inclined to ſuſpect that ſhe had gained her port already; and as we now began to want a harbour to refreſh our people, the uncertainty of our preſent ſituation gave us great uneaſineſs, and we were very ſolicitous to get ſome poſitive intelligence, which might either ſet us at liberty to conſult our neceſſities, if the galeon was arrived, or might animate us to continue our preſent cruiſe with chearfulneſs, if ſhe was not. With this view, the Commodore, after examining our priſoners very particularly, reſolved to ſend a boat, under the colour of the night

into the harbour of Acapulco, to ſee if the Manila ſhip was there or not, one of the Indians being very poſitive that this might be done, without the boat itſelf being diſcovered. To execute this enterpriſe, the barge was diſpatched the 6th of February, carrying a ſufficient crew and two officers, as alſo a Spaniſh pilot, with the Indian, who had inſiſted on the facility of his project, and had undertaken to conduct it. Our barge did not return to us again till the 11th, when the officers acquainted Mr Anſon, that, agreeable to our ſuſpicion, there was nothing like a harbour in the place, where the Spaniſh pilot had at firſt aſſerted Acapulco to ly; that, after they had ſatisfied themſelves in this particular, they ſteered to the eaſtward, in hopes of diſcovering it, and had coaſted along ſhore thirty-two leagues; that, in this whole range, they met chiefly with ſandy beaches of a great length, over which the ſea broke with ſo much violence that it was impoſſible for a boat to land; that, at the end of their run, they could juſt diſcover two paps at a very great diſtance to the eaſtward, which, from their appearance, and their latitude, they concluded to be thoſe in the neighbourhood of Acapulco; but that, not having a ſufficient quantity of freſh water and proviſion for their paſſage thither and back again, they were obliged to return to the Commodore, to acquaint him with their diſappointment. On this intelligence, we all made ſail to the eaſtward, in order to get into the neighbourhood of that port, the Commodore being determined to ſend the barge a ſecond time upon the ſame enterpriſe, when we were arrived within a moderate diſtance. Accordingly the next day, which was the 12th of February, we being by that time conſiderably advanced, the barge was again diſpatched, and particular in-

ſtructions given to the officers to preſerve themſelves from being ſeen from the ſhore. On the 13th we eſpied a high land to the eaſtward, which was firſt imagined to be that over the harbour of Acapulco; but we afterwards found that it was the high land of Seguateneio, where there is a ſmall harbour, of which we ſhall have occaſion to make more ample mention hereafter. We waited ſix days from the departure of our barge without any news of her, ſo that we began to be uneaſy for her ſafety; but on the 7th day, that is, on the 19th of February, ſhe returned; when the officers informed the Commodore, that they had diſcovered the harbour of Acupulco, which they eſteemed to bear from us E. S. E. at leaſt fifty leagues diſtant: that on the 17th, about two in the morning, they were got within the iſland that lies at the mouth of the harbour, and yet neither the Spaniſh pilot, nor the Indian, could give them any information where they then were; but that, while they were lying upon their oars in ſuſpence what to do, being ignorant that they were then at the very place they ſought for, they diſcerned a ſmall light near the ſurface of the water, on which they inſtantly plied their paddles, and, moving as ſilently as poſſible towards it, they found it to be in a fiſhing canoe, which they ſurpriſed, with three negroes that belonged to it. It ſeems the negroes at firſt attempted to jump over board, and being ſo near the ſhore, they would eaſily have ſwam to land; but they were prevented by preſenting a piece at them, on which they readily ſubmitted, and were taken into the barge. The officers further added, that they had immediately turned the canoe adrift againſt the face of a rock, where it would inevitably be daſhed to pieces by the fury of the ſea. This they did to deceive thoſe who perhaps might

be ſent from the town to ſearch after the canoe; for upon ſeeing ſeveral remains of a wreck, they would immediately conclude, that the people on board her had been drowned, and would have no ſuſpicion of their having fallen into our hands. When the crew of the barge had taken this precaution, they exerted their utmoſt ſtrength in pulling out to ſea, and by dawn of the day, had gained ſuch an offing as rendered it impoſſible for them to be ſeen from the coaſt.

Having now gotten the three negroes in our poſſeſſion, who were not ignorant of the tranſactions at Acapulco, we were ſoon ſatisfied about the moſt material points which had long kept us in ſuſpence. On examining them, we found, that we were indeed diſappointed in our expectation of intercepting the galeon before her arrival at Acapulco; but we learned other circumſtances which ſtill revived our hopes, and which, we then conceived, would more than balance the opportunity we had already loſt: for though our negroe priſoners informed us, that the galeon arrived at Acapulco on our 9th of January, which was about twenty days before we fell in with this coaſt; yet they, at the ſame time, told us, that the galeon had delivered her cargo, and was taking in water and proviſions in order to return, and that the viceroy of Mexico had, by proclamation, fixed her departure from Acapulco to the 14th of March, N. S. This laſt news was moſt joyfully received by us, ſince we had no doubt but ſhe muſt certainly fall into our hands; and it was much more eligible to ſeize her on her return, than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the ſpecies for which ſhe had ſold her cargo, and which ſhe would now have on board, would be prodigiouſly more to be eſteemed by us than the cargo itſelf,

great part of which would have periſhed on our hands, and none of it could have been diſpoſed of by us, at ſo advantageous a mart as Acapulco.

Thus we were a ſecond time engaged, in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manila ſhip, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to conſider, as the moſt deſirable capture that was to be made on any part of the ocean. But ſince all our future projects will be, in ſome ſort, regulated with a view to the poſſeſſion of this celebrated galeon, and ſince the commerce which is carried on by means of theſe veſſels between the city of Manila, and the port of Acapulco, is, perhaps, the moſt valuable in proportion to its quantity of any in the known world, I ſhall endeavour in the enſuing chapter, to give as circumſtantial an account as I can, of all the particulars relating thereto, both as it is a matter in which I conceive the public to be in ſome degree intereſted, and as I flatter myſelf, that, from the materials which have fallen into my hands, I am enabled to deſcribe it with more diſtinctneſs than has hitherto been done, at leaſt in our language.

CHAP. X.

An account of the commerce carried on between the city of Manila on the iſland of Luconia, and the port of Acapulco on the coaſt of Mexico.

ABOUT the end of the 15th century, and the beginning of the 16th, the ſearching after new countries, and new branches of commerce, was the reigning paſſion among ſeveral of the Eu-

ropean princes. But thoſe who engaged moſt deeply and fortunately in theſe purſuits, were the kings of Spain and Portugal; the firſt of them having diſcovered the immenſe and opulent continent of America, and its adjacent iſlands, while the other, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, had opened to his fleets a paſſage to the ſouthern coaſt of Aſia, uſually called the Eaſt-Indies, and by his ſettlements in that part of the globe, became poſſeſſed of many of the manufactures, and natural productions, with which it abounded, and which, for ſome ages, had been the wonder and delight of the more poliſhed and luxurious part of mankind.

In the mean time, theſe two nations of Spain and Portugal, who were thus proſecuting the ſame views, though in different quarters of the world, grew extremely jealous of each other, and became apprehenſive of mutual encroachments; and therefore, to quiet their jealouſies, and to enable them with more tranquillity to purſue the propagation of the Catholic faith in theſe diſtant countries, (they having, both of them, given diſtinguiſhed marks of their zeal for their mother-church, by their butchery of innocent Pagans) Pope Alexander VI. granted to the Spaniſh crown, the property and dominion of all places, either already diſcovered, or that ſhould be diſcovered, an hundred leagues to the weſtward of the iſlands of Azores, leaving all the unknown countries to the eaſtward of this limit, to the induſtry and diſquiſition of the Portugueſe. And this boundary being afterwards removed two hundred and fifty leagues more to the weſtward, by the agreements of both nations, it was imagined, that this regulation would have ſuppreſſed all the ſeeds of future conteſts: for the Spaniards preſumed, that the Portugueſe would

hereby prevented from meddling with their lonies in America; and the Portugueſe ſup-ſed, that their Eaſt-India ſettlements, and par-ularly the ſpice iſlands, which they had then wly found out, were for ever ſecured from any tempts of the Spaniſh nation.

But it ſeems, the infallibility of the holy fa-er had, on this occaſion, deſerted him, and, want of being more converſant in geography, had not foreſeen, that the Spaniards, by pur-ing their diſcoveries to the weſt, and the Por-gueſe to the eaſt, might at laſt meet with each her, and be again embroiled, as it actually ppened within a few years afterwards. For rdinand Magellan, an officer in the king of ortugal's ſervice, having received ſome diſguſt om the court, either by the defalcation of his y, or by having his parts, as he conceived, too eaply conſidered, he entered into the ſervice the king of Spain. As he appears to have been man of ability, he was deſirous of ſignalizing s talents in ſome enterprize which might prove tremely vexatious to his former maſters, and ight teach them to eſtimate his worth, from the eatneſs of the miſchief he brought upon them; is being the moſt obvious and natural turn of fugitives, more eſpecially of thoſe who, be-g really men of capacity, have quitted their ountry, by reaſon of the ſmall account that has en made of them. Magellan, in purſuance of eſe vindictive views, knowing that the Portu-ueſe conſidered their traffic to the ſpice iſlands, their moſt important acquiſition in the Eaſt, ſolved with himſelf to inſtigate the court of pain to an attempt, which, by ſtill puſhing their iſcoveries to the weſtward, would give them a ight to interfere, both in the property and com-erce of theſe renowned countries; and the

king of Spain, approving of this project, Magellan, in the year 1519, ſet ſail from the port of Sevil, in order to carry this enterpriſe into execution. He had with him a conſiderable force, conſiſting of five ſhips, and two hundred and thirty-four men, with which he ſtood for the coaſt of South America, and, ranging along the ſhore, he at length, towards the end of October 1520, had the good fortune to diſcover thoſe ſtreights, which have ſince been denominated from him, and which opened him a paſſage into the South Seas. This, which was the firſt part of his ſcheme, being thus happily accompliſhed, he, after ſome ſtay on the coaſt of Peru, ſet ſail again to the weſtward, with a view of falling in with the ſpice iſlands. In this extenſive run acroſs the Pacific ocean, he firſt diſcovered the Ladrones, or Marian iſlands; and, continuing on his courſe, he at length reached the Philippine iſlands, which are the moſt eaſtern part of Aſia, where, venturing on ſhore in an hoſtile manner, and ſkirmiſhing with the Indians, he was ſlain.

By the death of Magellan, his original project of ſecuring ſome of the ſpice iſlands, was defeated; for thoſe who were left in command contented themſelves with ranging through them, and purchaſing ſome ſpices from the natives; after which they returned home round the Cape of Good Hope, being the firſt ſhips which had ever ſurrounded this terraqueous globe; and thereby demonſtrated, by a palpable experiment, obvious to the groſſeſt and moſt vulgar capacity, the reality of its long diſputed ſpherical figure.

But though Spain did not hereby acquire the property of any of the ſpice iſlands, yet the diſcovery of the Philippines, made in this expedition, was thought too conſiderable to be neglected; ſince theſe were not far diſtant from thoſe

laces which produced ſpices, and were very well tuated for the Chineſe trade, and for the com-erce of other parts of India. A communication, herefore, was ſoon eſtabliſhed, and carefully ſup-orted between theſe iſlands and the Spaniſh co-onies on the coaſt of Peru; whence the city of Manila, (which was built on the iſland of Luco-ia, the chief of the Philippines) became in a hort time, the mart of all Indian commodities, hich were brought up by the inhabitants, and ere annually ſent to the South Seas to be there ended on their account; and the returns of this ommerce to Manila, being principally made in lver, the place by degrees grew extremely opu-ent, and its trade ſo far increaſed, as to engage he attention of the court of Spain, and to be requently controlled and regulated by royal e-icts.

In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on rom the port of Callao to the city of Manila, in hich navigation the trade-wind continually fa-oured them; ſo that, notwithſtanding theſe pla-es were diſtant between three and four thouſand eagues, yet the voyage was often made in little hore than two months; but then the return from Manila was extremely troubleſome and tedious, nd is ſaid to have ſometimes laſted above a welvemonth; which, if they pretended to ply p within the limits of the trade-wind, is not at ll to be wondered at. Indeed, though it is aſ-erted, that, in their firſt voyages, they were ſo mprudent and unſkilful as to attempt this courſe; et that route was ſoon laid aſide, by the advice s it is ſaid, of a Jeſuit, who perſuaded them to teer to the northward till they got clear of the rade-winds, and then, by the favour of the weſt-rly winds, which generally prevail in high lati-udes, to ſtretch away for the coaſt of California.

This, we know, hath been the practice for at leaſt a hundred and ſixty years paſt; as Sir Thomas Cavendiſh, in the year 1586, engaged, off the ſouth end of California, a veſſel bound from Manila to the American coaſt. And it was in compliance with this new plan of navigation, and to ſhorten the run both backwards and forwards, that the ſtaple of this commerce to and from Manila was removed from Callao, on the coaſt of Peru, to the port of Acapulco, on the coaſt of Mexico, where it continues fixed to this time.

Such was the commencement, and ſuch were the early regulations of this commerce; but its preſent condition being a much more intereſting ſubject, I muſt beg leave to dwell longer on this head, and to be indulged in a more particular narration, beginning with a deſcription of the iſland of Luconia, and of the port and bay of Manila.

The iſland of Luconia, though ſituated in the latitude of 15° north, is eſteemed to be in general extremely healthy, and the water that is found upon it is ſaid to be the beſt in the world. It produces all the fruits of the warm climates, and abounds in a moſt excellent breed of horſes, ſuppoſed to be carried thither firſt from Spain. It is very well ſeated for the Indian and Chineſe trade; and the bay and port of Manila, which lies on its weſtern ſide, is, perhaps, the moſt remarkable on the whole globe, the bay being a large circular baſon, near ten leagues in diameter, great part of it entirely land locked. On the eaſt ſide of this bay ſtands the city of Manila, which is large and populous, and which, at the beginning of this war, was only an open place, its principal defence conſiſting in a ſmall fort, which was almoſt ſurrounded on every ſide by houſes; but they have lately made conſiderable

ditions to its fortifications; though I have not t learned after what manner. The port pe- liar to the city is called Cabite, and lies near vo leagues to the ſouthward; and in this port l the ſhips employed for the Acapulco trade are ſually ſtationed. As I have never ſeen but one graved plan of this bay, and that in an un- mmon collection, I have added, in the thirty- ird plate, a plan which fell into my hands, and hich differs conſiderably from that already pub- ſhed; but I cannot pretend to decide which of he two is moſt to be relied on.

The city of Manila itſelf is in a healthy ſitu- ion, is well watered, and is in the neighbour- ood of a very fruitful and plentiful country; ut as the principal buſineſs of this place is its ade to Acapulco, it lies under ſome diſadvan- age, from the difficulty there is in getting to ſea the eaſtward; for the paſſage is among iſlands, nd through channels, where the Spaniards, by eaſon of their unſkilfulneſs in marine affairs, aſte much time, and are often in great danger. heſe inconveniencies will be better apprehended y the reader from the draught of the iſland of uconia, and of its neighbouring iſles, (plate XVIth) which was taken from the enemy, and ad been newly drawn and corrected but a ſhort ime before.

The trade carried on from this place to China, and different parts of India, is principally or ſuch commodities as are intended to ſupply he kingdoms of Mexico and Peru. Theſe are pices, all ſorts of Chineſe ſilks and manufac- ures, particularly ſilk ſtockings, of which I have heard, that no leſs than fifty thouſand pair were the uſual number ſhipped in each cargo; aſt quantities of Indian ſtuffs, as callicoes and chintz, which are much worn in America, to-

gether with other minuter articles, as goldſmith's work, &c. which is principally wrought at the city of Manila itſelf by the Chineſe; for it is ſaid there are at leaſt twenty thouſand Chineſe who conſtantly reſide there, either as ſervants, manufacturers, or brokers. All theſe different commodities are collected at Manila, thence to be tranſported annually in one or more ſhips, to Acapulco, in the kingdom of Mexico.

This trade to Acapulco is not laid open to all the inhabitants of Manila, but is confined by very particular regulations, ſomewhat analogous to thoſe by which the trade of the regiſter ſhips from Cadiz to the Weſt Indies is reſtrained. The ſhips employed herein are found by the King of Spain, who pays the officers and crew; and the tonage is divided into a certain number of bales, all of the ſame ſize. Theſe are diſtributed amongſt the convents at Manila, but principally to the Jeſuits, as a donation to ſupport their miſſions for the propagation of the Catholic faith; and the convents have thereby a right to embark ſuch a quantity of goods on board the Manila ſhip, as the tonage of their bales amounts to; or if they chuſe not to be concerned in trade themſelves, they have the power of ſelling this privilege to others; nor is it uncommon, when the merchant, to whom they ſell their ſhare, is unprovided of a ſtock, for the convents to lend him conſiderable ſums of money on bottomry.

The trade is, by the royal edicts, limited to a certain value, which the annual cargo ought not to exceed. Some Spaniſh manuſcripts, I have ſeen, mention this limitation to be 600,000 dollars; but the annual cargo does certainly ſurpaſs this ſum: and though it may be difficult to fix its exact value, yet, from many compariſons, I

onclude, that the return cannot be much ſhort f three millions of dollars.

As it is ſufficiently obvious, that the greateſt hare of the treaſure returned from Acapulco to Manila, does not remain in that place, but is gain diſperſed into different parts of India; and s all European nations have generally eſteemed good policy to keep their American ſettlements in an immediate dependence on their mother country, without permitting them to carry n directly any gainful traffic with other powers; heſe conſiderations have occaſioned many remonſtrances to be preſented to the court of pain againſt this Indian trade, allowed to the ingdom of Mexico. It has been urged, that he ſilk manufactures of Valentia, and other arts of Spain, are hereby greatly prejudiced, nd the linens carried from Cadiz much injured n their ſale; ſince the Chineſe ſilks, coming almoſt directly to Acapulco, can be afforded conſiderably cheaper there than any European manufactures of equal goodneſs; and the cotton from he Coromandel coaſt, make the European linens early uſeleſs: ſo that the Manila trade renders oth Mexico and Peru leſs dependent upon Spain, for a ſupply of their neceſſities, than hey ought to be, and exhauſts thoſe countries of a conſiderable quanity of ſilver, the greateſt part of which, were this trade prohibited, would center in Spain, either in payment for Spaniſh commodities, or in gains to the Spaniſh merchant; whereas, now, the only advantage which ariſes from it, is the enriching the Jeſuits, and a few particular perſons beſides, at the other extremity of the world. Theſe arguments did ſo far influence Don Joſeph Patinho, who was formerly prime miniſter, and an enemy to the Jeſuits, that, about the year 1725, he had re-

ſolved to aboliſh this trade, and to have permitted no Indian commodities to be introduced into any of the Spaniſh ports in the Weſt Indies, except ſuch as were brought thither by the regiſter ſhips from Europe. But the powerful intrigues of the Jeſuits prevented this regulation from taking place.

This trade from Manila to Acapulco, and back again, is uſually carried on in one, or, at moſt, two annual ſhips, which ſet ſail from Manila about July, and arrive at Acapulco in the December, January, or February following; and having there diſpoſed of their effects, return from Manila ſome time in March, where they generally arrive in June; ſo that the whole voyage generally takes up very near an entire year. For this reaſon, though there is often no more than one ſhip freighted at a time, yet there is always one ready for the ſea when the other arrives; and therefore the commerce at Manila is provided with three or four ſtout ſhips, that, in caſe of any accident, the trade may not be ſuſpended. The largeſt of theſe ſhips, whoſe name I have not learned, is deſcribed as little leſs than one of our firſt rate men of war; and indeed ſhe muſt be of an enormous ſize, as it is known, that when ſhe was employed, with other ſhips of the ſame port, to cruize for our China trade, ſhe had no leſs than twelve hundred men on board. Their other ſhips, though far inferior in bulk to this, are yet ſtout large veſſels, of the burden of twelve hundred ton and upwards; and uſually carry from three hundred and fifty, to ſix hundred hands, paſſengers included, with fifty odd guns. As theſe are all king's ſhips, commiſſioned and paid by him, there is uſually one amongſt the captains ſtiled the General, and he carries the royal ſtandard of Spain at the main-top-gal-

t-maſt-head, as we ſhall more particularly ob-
ve hereafter.

And now, having deſcribed the city and port of
nila, and the ſhipping employed by its inha-
nts, it is neceſſary to give a more circumſtan-
detail of the navigation from thence to Aca-
co. The ſhip having received her cargo on
rd, and being fitted for the ſea, generally
ghs from the mole of Cabite about the middle
July, taking the advantage of the weſterly
nſoon, which then ſets in. It appears, by
chart already referred to, that the getting
ough the channel called the Boccadero, to the
tward, muſt be a troubleſome navigation, and,
act, it is ſometimes the end of Auguſt before
y complete it. When they have cleared this
age, and are diſintangled from the iſlands,
y ſtand to the northward of the eaſt, till they
ve in the latitude of thirty degrees or up-
rds, where they expect to meet with weſter-
winds, before which they ſtretch away for the
ſt of California. To give a better idea of the
k which they hold in this navigation, I have
erted, towards the latter end of the third
k, the copy of a manuſcript chart that was
en on board one of theſe ſhips, on which I
e laid down the particular route of this veſ-
both in her paſſage from Manila to Acapul-
and from Acapulco back again. In this
rt (as it was drawn for the uſe of the Spa-
h General) there are contained all the diſco-
ies the Manila ſhips have at any time made in
verſing the vaſt ocean between the Philippine
nds and the coaſt of Mexico; whence it ap-
rs how minute and inconſiderable thoſe frag-
nts of land are which ly diſperſed in that pro-
ious ſea. It is indeed moſt remarkable, that
the concurrent teſtimony of all the Spaniſh

navigators, there is not one port, nor even tolerable road as yet found out betwixt the Philippine iſlands and the coaſt of California; ſo that, from the time the Manila ſhip firſt loſes ſight of land, ſhe never lets go her anchor till ſhe arrives on the coaſt of California, and very often not till ſhe gets to its ſouthermoſt extremity. As this voyage is rarely of leſs than ſix months continuance, and the ſhip is deep laden with merchandiſe, and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be ſupplied with a ſtock of freſh water for ſo long a time. The method of procuring it is indeed extremely ſingular, and deſerves a very particular recital.

It is well known to thoſe who are acquainted with the Spaniſh cuſtoms in the South Seas, that their water is preſerved on ſhip-board, not in caſks, but in earthen jars, which, in ſome ſort, reſemble the large oil-jars we often ſee in Europe. When the Manila ſhip firſt puts to ſea, ſhe takes on board a much greater quantity of water than can be be ſtowed between decks, and the jars, which contain it, are hung all about the ſhrouds and ſtays, ſo as to exhibit, at a diſtance, a very odd appearance. Though it is one convenience of their jars that they are much more manageable than caſks, and are liable to no leakage, unleſs they are broken, yet it is ſufficiently obvious, that a ſix, or even a three months ſtore of water, could never be ſtowed in a ſhip ſo loaded, by any management whatever; and therefore, without ſome other ſupply, this navigation could not be performed. A ſupply indeed they have; but the reliance upon it ſeems, at firſt ſight, ſo extremely precarious, that it is wonderful ſuch numbers ſhould riſk the periſhing by the moſt dreadful of all

ths, on the expectation of ſo caſual a relief. ſhort, their only method of recruiting their ter, is by the rains which they meet with be-een the latitudes of 30° and 40° north, and ich they are always prepared to catch. For s purpoſe they take to ſea with them a great mber of mats, which, whenever the rain de-nds, they range ſlopingly againſt the gun-le, from one end of the ſhip to the other, ir lower edges reſting on a large ſplit bamboe; nence all the water which falls on the mats, ains into the bamboe, and by this, as a trough, conveyed into a jar. And this method of fur-hing themſelves with water, however acci-ntal and extraordinary it may at firſt ſight ap-ar, hath never been known to fail them; but hath been common for them, when their voy-e is a little longer than uſual, to fill all their ter-jars ſeveral times over.

However, though their diſtreſſes for freſh wa-r are much ſhort of what might be expected ſo tedious a navigation, yet there are other conveniencies generally attendant upon a long ntinuance at ſea, from which they are not ex-mpted. The principal of theſe is the ſcurvy, hich ſometimes rages with extreme violence, nd deſtroys great numbers of the people; but, other times, their paſſage to Acapulco (of hich alone I would be here underſtood to peak) is performed with little loſs.

The length of time employed in this paſſage, o much beyond what uſually occurs in any other nown navigation, is perhaps to be imputed to he indolence and unſkilfulneſs of the Spaniſh ailors, and to an unneceſſary degree of caution, n pretence of the great riches of the veſſel; for t is ſaid, that they rarely ſet their main-ſail in he night, and often lie by unneceſſarily. Thus

much is certain, that the inſtructions given to their Captains (which I have ſeen) ſeem to have been drawn up by ſuch as were more apprehenſive of too ſtrong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniencies and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage. For the Captain is particularly ordered to make his paſſage in the latitude of 30 degrees, if poſſible, and to be extremely careful to ſtand no farther to the northward than is abſolutely neceſſary for the getting a weſterly wind. This, according to our conceptions, appears to be a very abſurd reſtriction, ſince it can ſcarcely be doubted, but that, in the higher latitudes, the weſterly winds are much ſteddier and briſker than in the latitude of 30 degrees. Indeed, the whole conduct of this navigation ſeems liable to very great cenſure; ſince if, inſtead of ſteering E. N. E. into the latitude of 30 degrees, they at firſt ſtood N. E. or even ſtill more northerly, into the latitude of 40 or 45 degrees, in part of which coaſt the trade-winds would greatly aſſiſt them; I doubt not but by this management they might conſiderably contract their voyage, and perhaps perform it in half the time which is now allotted for it. This may in ſome meaſure be deduced from their own journals, ſince, in thoſe I have ſeen, it appears, that they are often a month or ſix weeks after their laying the land, before they get into the latitude of 30 degrees; whereas, with a more northerly courſe, it might eaſily be done in leſs than a fortnight. Now, when they were once well advanced to the northward, the weſterly winds would ſoon blow them over to the coaſt of California, and they would be thereby freed from the other embarraſſments to which they are at preſent ſubjected, only at the expence of a rough ſea and a ſtiff gale. This is not merely matter

ſpeculation: for I am credibly informed, that, out the year 1721, a French ſhip, by purſuing is courſe, ran from the coaſt of China to the lley of Vanderas, on the coaſt of Mexico, in ſs than fifty days: but it was ſaid, that notwithnding the ſhortneſs of her paſſage, ſhe ſuffer- prodigiouſly by the ſcurvy, ſo that ſhe had on- four or five of her crew remaining alive when e arrived in America.

However, I ſhall deſcant no longer on the proſibility of performing this voyage in a much orter time; but ſhall content myſelf with reting the actual occurrences of the preſent nagation. The Manila ſhip having ſtood ſo far the northward as to meet with a weſterly wind, retches away nearly in the ſame latitude for the aſt of California; and when ſhe has run into e longitude of about 100 degrees from Cape piritu Santo, ſhe generally finds a plant floatg on the ſea, which, being called Porra by the paniards, is, I preſume, a ſpecies of ſea-leek. n the ſight of this plant, they eſteem themſelves fficiently near the Californian ſhore, and imediately ſtand to the ſouthward; and they re- ſo much on this circumſtance, that, on the firſt ſcovery of the plant, the whole ſhip's compay chant a ſolemn *Te Deum*, eſteeming the difficulties and hazards of their paſſage to be now at n end; and they conſtantly correct their longiude thereby, without ever coming within ſight land. After falling in with theſe SIGNS, as ey denominate them, they ſteer to the ſouthard, without endeavouring to approach the oaſt, till they have run into a lower latitude; or, as there are many iſlands, and ſome ſhoals djacent to California, the extreme caution of he Spaniſh navigators renders them very appreenſive of being engaged with the land: howe-

ver, when they draw near its ſouthern extremity, they venture to hale in, both for the ſake of making Cape St Lucas, to aſcertain their reckoning, and alſo to receive intelligence from the Indian inhabitants whether or not there are any enemies on the coaſt; and this laſt circumſtance, which is a particular article in the Captain's inſtructions, obliges us to mention in the late proceedings of the Jeſuits among the Californian Indians.

Since the firſt diſcovery of California, there have been various wandering miſſionaries, who have viſited it at different times, though to little purpoſe: but of late years the Jeſuits, encouraged and ſupported by a large donation from the Marquis de Valero, a moſt munificent bigot, have fixed themſelves upon the place, and have there eſtabliſhed a very conſiderable miſſion. Their principal ſettlement lies juſt within Cape St Lucas, where they have collected a great number of ſavages, and have endeavoured to inure them to agriculture, and other mechanic arts: nor have their efforts been altogether ineffectual; for they have planted vines at their ſettlements with very good ſucceſs, ſo that they already make a conſiderable quantity of wine, which begins to be eſteemed in the neighbouring kingdom of Mexico, it reſembling in flavour the inferior ſorts of Madeira.

The Jeſuits then being thus firmly rooted on California, they have already extended their juriſdiction quite acroſs the country from ſea to ſea, and are endeavouring to ſpread their influence farther to the northward; with which view they have made ſeveral expeditions up the gulf between California and Mexico, in order to diſcover the nature of the adjacent countries, all which they hope hereafter to bring under their power. And being thus occupied in advancing

e intereſts of their ſociety, it is no wonder if me ſhare of attention is engaged about the ſe-rity of the Manila ſhip, in which their convents Manila are ſo deeply concerned. For this pur-ſe there are refreſhments, as fruits, wine, wa-r, *&c.* conſtantly kept in readineſs for her; and ere is beſides, care taken at Cape St Lucas to ok out for any ſhip of the enemy which might cruiſing there to intercept her; this being a ation where ſhe is conſtantly expected, and here ſhe has been often waited for, and fought ith, though generally with little ſucceſs. In onſequence then of the meaſures then mutually ttled between the Jeſuits of Manila and their rethren of California, the Captain of the galeon ordered to fall in with the land to the north-ard of Cape St Lucas, where the inhabitants re directed, on the ſight of the veſſel, to make the roper ſignals with fires. On diſcovering theſe res, the Captain is to ſend his launch on ſhore ith twenty men, well armed, who are to carry ith them the letters from the convents at Mani-a to the Californian miſſionaries, and are to ring back the refreſhments which will be pre-ared from the ſhip, and likewiſe intelligence hether or not there are enemies on the coaſt. f the Captain finds, from the account which is ent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is di-ected to proceed from Cape St Lucas, and thence o Cape Corientes, after which he is to coaſt it long for the port of Acapulco.

The moſt uſual time of the arrival of the gale-on at Acapulco is towards the middle of Janua-ry: but this navigation is ſo uncertain, that ſhe ſometimes gets in a month ſooner, and, at other times, has been detained at ſea above a month longer. The Port of Acapulco is by much the ſecureſt and fineſt in all the northern part of the

Pacific ocean, being, as it were, a baſon ſu
rounded by very high mountains. But the town is
moſt wretched place, and extremely unhealth
for the air about it is ſo pent up by the hills, th
it has ſcarcely any circulation. Acapulco is b
ſides deſtitute of freſh water, except what is brough
from a conſiderable diſtance, and is in all reſpec
ſo inconvenient, that except at the time of th
mart, whilſt the Manila galeon is in the port,
is almoſt deſerted. To compenſate in ſome mea
ſure, for the ſhortneſs of this deſcription, I hav
inſerted, in the ſame plate with the bay of Ma
nila above mentioned, a plan of this town, an
of its port and citadel, in which are likewi
drawn the new works which were added on the
firſt intelligence of the equipment of our ſquadron.
As this plan was taken from the Spaniards,
cannot anſwer for its accuracy; but having ſeen
two or three other Spaniſh draughts of the place,
I conceive, by comparing them together, that
this I have here inſerted is not very diſtant from
the truth.

When the galeon arrives in this port, ſhe is
generally moored on its weſtern ſide, to the two
trees marked in the plan, and her cargo is deli-
vered with all poſſible expedition. And now
the town of Acapulco, from almoſt a ſolitude,
is immediately thronged with merchants from
all parts of the kingdom of Mexico. The cargo
being landed and diſpoſed of, the ſilver and the
goods intended for Manila, are taken on board,
together with proviſions and water, and the ſhip
prepares to put to ſea with utmoſt expedition.
There is indeed no time to be loſt; for it is an
expreſs order to the Captain to be out of the port
of Acapulco on his return, before the firſt day
of April, N. S.

Having mentioned the goods intended for Ma-

a, I muſt obſerve, that the principal return is ays made in ſilver, and conſequently the reſt the cargo is but of little account, the other icles, beſides the ſilver, being ſome cochin- , and a few ſweetmeats, the produce of the A- rican ſettlements, together with European llinary ware for the women at Manila, and me Spaniſh wines, ſuch as tent and ſherry, hich are intended for the uſe of their prieſts in e adminiſtration of the ſacrament.

And this difference in the cargo of the ſhip to d from Manila, occaſions a very remarkable riety in the manner of equipping her for theſe o different voyages. For the galeon, when e ſets ſail for Manila, being deep laden with a riety of bulky goods, ſhe has not the conveni- cy of mounting her lower tire of guns, but rries them in her hold, till ſhe draws near Cape Lucas, and is apprehenſive of an enemy. Her nds too are as few as is conſiſtent with the fety of the ſhip, that ſhe may be leſs peſtered the ſtowage of proviſions. But on her return om Acapulco, as her cargo lies in leſs room, er lower tire is, or ought to be, always mount- d before ſhe leaves the port, and her crew is ugmented with a ſupply of ſailors, and with one two companies of foot, which are intended to einforce the garriſon of Manila. Beſides, there eing many merchants who take their paſſage to Manila on board the galeon, her whole number f hands on her return, is uſually little ſhort of x hundred, all which are eaſily provided for, y reaſon of the ſmall ſtowage neceſſary for the ilver.

The galeon being thus fitted in order to her eturn, the Captain, on leaving the port of Aca- pulco, ſteers for the latitude of 13° or 14°, and hen continues on that parallel till he gets ſight

of the iſland of Guam, one of the Ladrones. In this run the Captain is particularly directed to be careful of the ſhoals of St Bartholomew, and of the iſland of Gaſparico. He is alſo told in his inſtructions, that to prevent his paſſing the Ladrones in the dark, there are orders given, that through all the month of June fires ſhall be lighted every night on the higheſt part of Guam and Rota, and kept in till the morning.

At Guam there is a ſmall Spaniſh garriſon (as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter) purpoſely intended to ſecure that place for the refreſhment of the galeon, and to yield her all the aſſiſtance in their power. However, the danger of the road at Guam is ſo great, that though the galeon is ordered to call there, yet ſhe rarely ſtays above a day or two; but getting her water and refreſhments on board as ſoon as poſſible, ſhe ſteers away directly for Cape Eſpiritu Santo, on the iſland of Samal. Here the Captain is again ordered to look out for ſignals; and he is told that centinels will be poſted not only on that Cape, but likewiſe on Catanduanas, Butuſan, Birriborongo, and on the iſland of Batan. Theſe centinels are inſtructed to make a fire when they diſcover the ſhip, which the Captain is carefully to obſerve; for if, after this firſt fire is extinguiſhed, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coaſt; and on this he is immediately to endeavour to ſpeak with the centinel on ſhore, and to procure from him more particular intelligence of their force, and of the ſtation they cruiſe in; purſuant to which he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain ſome ſecure port amongſt thoſe iſlands, without coming in ſight of the enemy; and in caſe he ſhould be diſcovered when in port, and ſhould be ap-

henſive of an attack, he muſt land his treaſure, d muſt take ſome of his artillery on ſhore for defence, not neglecting to ſend frequent and rticular accounts to the city of Manila of all at paſſes. But if, after the firſt fire on ſhore, e Captain obſerves that two others only are made the centinels, he is then to conclude that ere is nothing to fear; and he is to purſue his urſe without interruption, making the beſt of s way to the port of Cabite, which is the port the city of Manila, and the conſtant ſtation r all ſhips employed in this commerce to Acalco.

CHAP. XI.

Our cruize off the port of Acapulco for the Manila ſhip.

I HAVE already mentioned in the ninth chapter, that the return of our barge from the port of Acapulco, where ſhe had ſurpriſed three negroe fiſhermen, gave us inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, as we learned from our priſoners, that the galeon was then preparing to put to ſea, and that her departure was fixed, by an edict of the Viceroy of Mexico, to the 14th of March, N. S. that is, to the third of March according to our reckoning.

What related to this Manila ſhip being the matter to which we were moſt attentive, it was neceſſarily the firſt article of our examination; but having ſatisfied ourſelves upon this head, we then indulged our curioſity in enquiring after other news: when the priſoners informed us, that they had received intelligence at Acapulco of

our having plundered and burned the town
Paita; and that, on this occaſion, the Govern
of Acapulco had augmented the fortifications
the place, and had taken ſeveral precautions
prevent us from forcing our way into the ha
bour; that in particular he had planted a guar
on the iſland which lies at the harbour's mouth
and that this guard had been withdrawn but tw
nights before the arrival of our barge; ſo that ha
the barge ſucceeded in her firſt attempt, or ha
ſhe arrived at the port the ſecond time two day
ſooner, ſhe could ſcarcely have avoided bein
ſeized on; or if ſhe had eſcaped, it muſt hav
been with the loſs of the greateſt part of her crew
as ſhe would have been under the fire of the guar
before ſhe had known her danger.

The withdrawing of this guard was a circum-
ſtance that gave us much pleaſure, ſince it ſeem-
ed to demonſtrate, not only that the enemy had
not as yet diſcovered us, but likewiſe, that they had
now no farther apprehenſions of our viſiting their
coaſt. Indeed, the priſoners aſſured us, that
they had no knowledge of our being in thoſe ſeas;
and that they had therefore flattered themſelves,
that in the long interval from our taking of Paita
we had ſteered another courſe. But we did not
conſider the opinion of theſe negroe-priſoners as
ſo authentic a proof of our being hitherto con-
cealed, as the withdrawing of the guard from the
harbour's mouth; for this being the action of the
Governor, was of all arguments the moſt con-
vincing, as he might be ſuppoſed to have intelli-
gence with which the reſt of the inhabitants were
unacquainted.

Satisfied therefore that we were undiſcovered,
and that the day was fixed for the departure of
the galeon from Acapulco, we made all neceſſary
preparations, and waited with the utmoſt impa-

ance for the important moment. As it was the 19th of February when the barge returned and brought us our intelligence, and the galeon was not to ſail till the 3d of March; the Commodore reſolved to continue the greateſt part of the intermediate time on his preſent ſtation to the weſtward of Acapulco, conceiving that, in this ſituation, there would be leſs danger of his being ſeen from the ſhore, which was the only circumſtance that could deprive us of the immenſe treaſure on which we had at preſent ſo eagerly fixed our thoughts. During this interval, we were employed in ſcrubbing and cleaning our ſhips bottoms, in bringing them into their moſt advantageous trim, and in regulating the orders, ſignals, and poſitions to be obſerved when we ſhould arrive off Acapulco, and the time appointed for the departure of the galeon ſhould draw nigh.

It was on the 1ſt of March we made the high lands, uſually called the Paps over Acapulco, and ſtood with all poſſible expedition into the ſituation deſcribed by the Commodore's orders. The diſtribution of our ſquadron on this occaſion, both for the intercepting the galeon, and for avoiding diſcovery from the ſhore, was ſo very judicious, that it well merits to be diſtinctly deſcribed. The order of it was thus; the Centurion brought the paps over the harbour to bear N. N. E. at fifteen leagues diſtance, which was a ſufficient offing to prevent our being ſeen by the enemy. To the weſtward of the Centurion there was ſtationed the Carmelo, and to the eaſtward the Tryal's prize, the Glouceſter, and the Carmin; theſe were all ranged in a circular line, and each ſhip was three leagues diſtant from the next, ſo that the Carmelo and the Carmin, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues removed from

each other; and as the galeon could without doubt be diſcerned at ſix leagues diſtance from either extremity, the whole ſweep of our ſquadron, within which nothing could paſs undiſcovered, was at leaſt twenty-four leagues in extent; and yet we were ſo connected by our ſignals, as to be eaſily and ſpeedily informed of what was ſeen in any part of the line. To render this diſpoſition ſtill more complete, and to prevent even the poſſibility of the galeon's eſcaping us in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Glouceſter, were both manned and ſent on ſhore, and commanded to lie all day at the diſtance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port, where, by reaſon of their ſmallneſs, they could not poſſibly be diſcovered; but in the night they were directed to ſtand nearer to the harbour's mouth, and, as the light of the morning approached, to come back again to their day-poſts. When the cutters ſhould firſt diſcern the Manila ſhip, one of them was to return to the ſquadron, and make a ſignal, whether the galeon ſtood to the eaſtward or to the weſtward, whilſt the other was to follow the galeon at a diſtance, and if it grew dark, to direct the ſquadron in their chace, by ſhewing falſe fires. The particular ſituation of each ſhip, and of the cutters, and the bearings from each other, which they were to obſerve, in order to keep their ſtations, will be better underſtood by the deliniation exhibited in the XXVIIth plate; a draught of which was delivered to each of the commanders at the ſame time with their orders.

Beſides the care we had taken to prevent the galeon from paſſing by us unobſerved, we had not been inattentive to the means of engaging her to advantage when we came up with her; for, conſidering the thinneſs of our crews, and the

vaunting account given by the Spaniards of her ſize, her guns, and her ſtrength, this was a conſideration not to be neglected. As we ſuppoſed that none of our ſhips but the Centurion and Glouceſter were capable of lying along ſide of her, we took on board the Centurion all the hands belonging to the Carmelo and Carmin, except what were juſt ſufficient to navigate thoſe ſhips; and Captain Saunders was ordered to ſend from the Tryal's prize ten Engliſhmen, and as many negroes, to reinforce the crew of the Glouceſter. At the ſame time, for the encouragement of our negroes, of which we had a conſiderable number on board, we promiſed them that, on their good behaviour, they ſhould have their freedom. As they had been almoſt every day trained to the managment of the great guns for the two preceding months, they were very well qualified to be of ſervice to us; and from their hopes of liberty, and in return for the kind uſage they had met with amongſt us, they ſeemed diſpoſed to exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their power whenever we ſhould have occaſion for them.

Being thus prepared for the reception of the galeon, we expected, with the utmoſt impatience, the often mentioned 3d of March, the day fixed for her departure. No ſooner did that day dawn, than we were, all of us, moſt eagerly engaged in looking out towards Acapulco, from whence neither the caſual duties on board, nor the calls of hunger, could eaſily divert our eyes; and we were ſo ſtrangely prepoſſeſſed with the certainty of our intelligence, and with an aſſurance of her coming out of port, that ſome or other amongſt us, were conſtantly imagining, that they diſcovered one of our cutters returning with a ſignal. But, to our extreme vexation, both this day and the ſucceeding night paſſed over without any news

of the galeon: however, we did not yet deſpair, but were all heartily diſpoſed to flatter ourſelves, that ſome unforeſeen accident had intervened, which might have put off her departure for a few days; and ſuggeſtions of this kind occurred in plenty, as we knew that the time fixed by the Viceroy for her ſailing, was often prolonged on the petition of the merchants of Mexico. Thus we kept up our hopes, and did not abate of our vigilance; and as the 7th of March was Sunday, the beginning of Paſſion-week, which is obſerved by the Papiſts with great ſtrictneſs, and a total ceſſation from all kinds of labour, ſo that no ſhip is permitted to ſtir out of port during the whole week, this quieted our apprehenſions for ſome time, and diſpoſed us not to expect the galeon till the week following. On the Friday in this week, our cutters returned to us, and the officers on board them, were very confident that the galeon was ſtill in port, for that ſhe could not poſſibly have come out but that they muſt have ſeen her. The Monday morning following, that is, on the 15th of March, the cutters were again diſpatched to their old ſtation, and our hopes were once more indulged in as ſanguine prepoſſeſſions as before; but, in a week's time, our eagerneſs was greatly abated, and a general dejection and deſpondency took place in its room. It is true, there were ſome few amongſt us who ſtill kept up their ſpirits, and were very ingenious in finding out reaſons to ſatisfy themſelves, that the diſappointment we had hitherto met with, had only been occaſioned by a caſual delay of the galeon, which a few days would remove, and not by a total ſuſpenſion of her departure for the whole ſeaſon: but theſe ſpeculations were not adopted by the generality of our people; for they were perſuaded, that the enemy had, by ſome ac-

dent, diſcovered our being upon the coaſt, and ad therefore laid an embargo on the galeon till he next year. And indeed this perſuaſion was ut too well founded; for we afterwards learned, hat our barge, when ſent on the diſcovery of the ort of Acapulco, had been ſeen from the ſhore, nd that this circumſtance (no embarkations but anoes ever frequenting that coaſt) was to them ſufficient proof of the neighbourhood of our quadron; on which they ſtopped the galeon till he ſucceeding year.

The Commodore himſelf, though he declared ot his opinion, was yet, in his own thoughts, pprehenſive that we were diſcovered, and that he departure of the galeon was put off; and he ad, in conſequence of this opinion, formed a lan for poſſeſſing himſelf of Acapulco; becauſe e had no doubt but the treaſure as yet remained n the town, even though the orders for diſpatch-ng of the galeon were countermanded. Indeed, he place was too well defended to be carried by n open attempt; ſince, beſides the garriſon and he crew of the galeon, there were in it at leaſt thouſand men well armed, who had marched hither as guards to the treaſure when it was rought down from the city of Mexico: for the oads thereabouts are ſo much infeſted, either by ndependent Indians or fugitives, that the Spa-niards never truſt the ſilver without an armed force to protect it. Beſides, had the ſtrength of he place been leſs conſiderable, and ſuch as might not have appeared ſuperior to the efforts of our ſquadron, yet a declared attack would have prevented us receiving any advantages from its ſucceſs; for, upon the firſt diſcovery of our ſqua-dron, all the treaſure would have been ordered into the country, and in a few hours, would have been out of our reach; ſo that our conqueſt would

have been only a deſolate town, where we ſhould have found nothing that could in the leaſt have countervailed the fatigue and hazard of the undertaking.

For theſe reaſons, the ſurprizal of the place was the only method that could at all anſwer our purpoſe; and therefore the manner in which Mr. Anſon propoſed to conduct this enterpriſe was by ſetting ſail with the ſquadron in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night. As there is no danger on that coaſt, he would have ſtood boldly for the harbour's mouth, where he expected to arrive, and perhaps might have entered before the Spaniards were acquainted with his deſigns: as ſoon as he had run into the harbour, he intended to have puſhed two hundred of his men on ſhore in his boats, who were immediately to attempt the fort marked (C) in the plan mentioned in the preceding chapter, whilſt he, the Commodore, with his ſhips, was employed in firing upon the town and the other batteries. And theſe different opperations, which would have been executed with great regularity, could hardly have failed of ſucceeding againſt an enemy, who would have been prevented by the ſuddenneſs of the attack, and by the want of day-light, from concerting any meaſures for their defence: ſo that it was extremely probable that we ſhould have carried the fort by ſtorm; and then the other batteries, being open behind, muſt have been ſoon abandoned; after which the town and its inhabitants, and all the treaſure, muſt neceſſarily have fallen into our hands. For the place is ſo cooped up with mountains, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to eſcape out of it, but by the great road, marked (H. H.) in the plan, which paſſes under the fort. This was the project which the Commodore had thus far ſettled generally in his

thoughts; but when he began to enquire into such circumſtances as were neceſſary to be conſidered, in order to regulate the particulars of its execution, he found there was a difficulty which, being inſuperable, occaſioned the enterpriſe to be laid aſide: as, on examining the priſoners about the winds which prevail near the ſhore, he learned (and it was afterwards confirmed by the officers of our cutters) that nearer in ſhore, there was always a dead calm for the greateſt part of the night, and that towards morning, when a gale ſprung up, it conſtantly blew off the land: ſo that the ſetting ſail from our preſent ſtation in the evening, and arriving at Acapulco before daylight, was impoſſible.

This ſcheme, as hath been ſaid, was formed by the Commodore, upon a ſuppoſition that the galeon was detained till the next year: but as this was a matter of opinion only, and not founded on intelligence, and there was a poſſibility that ſhe might ſtill put to ſea in a ſhort time, the Commodore thought it prudent to continue cruiſing on his preſent ſtation, as long as the neceſſary attention to his ſtores of wood and water, and to the convenient ſeaſon for his future paſſage to China, would give him leave. And therefore, as the cutters had been ordered to remain before Acapulco till the 23d of March, the ſquadron did not change its poſition till that day; when the cutters not appearing, we were in ſome pain for them, apprehending they might have ſuffered either from the enemy or the weather; but we were relieved from our concern the next morning, when we diſcovered them, though at a great diſtance, and to the leeward of the ſquadron. We bore down to them, and took them up, and were informed by them, that, conformable to their orders, they had left their ſtation the day

before, without having ſeen any thing of the galeon; and we found, that the reaſon of their being ſo far to the leeward of us, was a ſtrong current, which had driven the whole ſquadron to windward.

And here it is neceſſary to mention, that, by information which was afterwards received, it appeared that this prolongation of our cruiſe was a very prudent meaſure, and afforded us no contemptible chance of ſeizing the treaſure on which we had ſo long fixed our thoughts. For after the embargo was laid on the galeon, as is before mentioned, the perſons principally intereſted in the cargo, diſpatched ſeveral expreſſes to Mexico, to beg that ſhe might ſtill be permitted to depart. It ſeems they knew, by the accounts ſent from Paita, that we had not more than three hundred men in all; whence they inſiſted, that there was nothing to be feared, as the galeon, carrying above twice as many hands as our whole ſquadron, would be greatly an over-match for us. And though the Viceroy was inflexible, yet, on the account of their repreſentation, ſhe was kept ready for the ſea near three weeks after the firſt order came to detain her.

When we had taken up the cutters, all the ſhips being joined, the Commodore made a ſignal to ſpeak with their commanders; and, upon enquiry into the ſtock of freſh water remaining on board the ſquadron, it was found to be ſo very ſlender, that we were under a neceſſity of quitting our ſtation to procure a freſh ſupply. Conſulting what place was the propereſt for this purpoſe, it was agreed that the harbour of Seguataneio or Chequetan, being the neareſt, was, on that account, the moſt eligible; ſo that it was immediately reſolved to make the beſt of our way thither: but that, even while we were recruiting

our water, we might not totally abandon our views upon the galeon, which perhaps, from certain intelligence of our being employed at Chiquetan, might venture to ſlip out to ſea, our cutter, under the command of Mr Hughs, the Lieutenant of the Tryal's prize, was ordered to cruize off the port of Acapulco for twenty-four days: that, if the galeon ſhould ſet ſail in that interval, we might be ſpeedily informed of it. In purſuance of theſe reſolutions, we endeavoured to ply to the weſtward, to gain our intended port; but were often interrupted in our progreſs by calms and adverſe currents. At theſe intervals we employed ourſelves in taking out the moſt valuable part of the cargoes of the Carmelo and Carmin prizes, which two ſhips we intended to deſtroy as ſoon as we had tolerably cleared them. By the 1ſt of April, we were ſo far advanced towards Seguataneio, that we thought it expedient to ſend out two boats, that they might range along the coaſt to diſcover the watering-place; they were gone ſome days, and our water being now very ſhort, it was a particular felicity to us that we met with daily ſupplies of turtle; for had we been entirely confined to ſalt proviſions, we muſt have ſuffered extremely in ſo warm a climate. Indeed our preſent circumſtances were ſufficiently alarming, and gave the moſt conſiderate amongſt us, as much concern as any of the numerous perils we had hitherto encountered: for our boats, as we conceived by their not returning, had not as yet found a place proper to water at; and by the leakage of our caſks, and other accidents, we had not ten days water on board the whole ſquadron; ſo that from the known difficulty of procuring water on this coaſt, and the little reliance we had on the Buccaneer writers (the only guides we had to truſt to) we

were apprehenſive of being ſoon expoſed to a c
lamity the moſt terrible of any that occurs in th
long diſheartning catalogue of the diſtreſſes of
ſea-faring life.

But theſe gloomy ſuggeſtions were at lengt
happily ended: for our boats returned on th
5th of April, having, about ſeven miles to th
weſtward of the rocks of Seguataneio, met wit
a place fit for our purpoſe; and which, by th
deſcription they gave of it, appeared to b
the port of Chequetan, mentioned by Dampier
The ſucceſs of our boats was highly agreeable t
us, and they were ordered out again next day, t
ſound the harbour and its entrance, which the
had repreſented as very narrow. At their re
turn they reported the place to be free from an
danger; ſo that on the 7th we ſtood for it, and
that evening came to an anchor in eleven fa
thom. The Glouceſter caſt anchor at the ſame
time with us; but the Carmelo and the Carmin,
having fallen to the leeward, the Tryal's prize
was ordered to join them, and to bring them up,
which in two or three days ſhe effected.

Thus, after a four months continuance at ſea,
from the leaving of Quibo, and having but ſix
days water on board, we arrived in the harbour
of Chequetan; the deſcription of which, and of
the adjacent coaſt, ſhall be the buſineſs of the
enſuing chapter.

CHAP. XII.

Deſcription of the harbour of Chequetan, and of the adjacent coaſt and country.

THE harbour of Chequetan, which we here propoſe to deſcribe, lies in the latitude of 17°: 36′ north, and is about thirty leagues to the weſtward of Acapulco. It is eaſy to be diſcovered by any ſhip that will keep well in with the land, eſpecially by ſuch as range down the coaſt from Acapulco, and will attend to the following particulars.

There is a beach of ſand, which extends eighteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco to the weſtward, againſt which the ſea breaks ſo violently, that, with our boats, it would be impoſſible to land on any part of it: but yet the ground is ſo clean, that, during the fair ſeaſon, ſhips may anchor in great ſafety at the diſtance of a mile or two from the ſhore. The land adjacent to this beach is generally low, full of villages, and planted with a great number of trees, and on the tops of ſome ſmall eminences there are ſeveral look-out towers; ſo that the face of the country affords a very agreeable proſpect: for the cultivated part, which is the part here deſcribed, extends ſome leagues back from the ſhore, where it ſeems to be bounded by a chain of mountains, which ſtretch to a conſiderable diſtance on either ſide of Acapulco. It is a moſt remarkable particularity, that, in this whole extent, containing, in appearance, the moſt populous and beſt planted diſtrict of the whole coaſt, there ſhould be neither canoes, boats, nor any other embarkations, either for fiſhing, coaſt-

ing, or for pleaſure. This cannot be imputed to the difficulty of landing; becauſe in many parts of Africa and Aſia, where the ſame inconvenience occurs, the inhabitants have provided againſt it by veſſels of a peculiar fabric. I therefore conceive, that the government, to prevent ſmuggling, have prohibited the uſe of all kinds of ſmall craft in that diſtrict.

The beach here deſcribed is the ſureſt guide to thoſe who are deſirous of finding the harbour of Chequetan: for five miles to the weſtward of the extremity of this beach there appears a hummock, which at firſt makes like an iſland, and is in ſhape not very unlike the hill of Petaplan hereafter mentioned, though much ſmaller. Three miles to the weſtward of this hummock is a white rock, near the ſhore, which cannot eaſily be paſſed by unobſerved: it is about two cables length from the land, and lies in a large bay about nine leagues over. The weſt point of this bay is the hill of Petaplan, which is repreſented in the XXVIIIth plate, with the view of the iſlands of Quicara and Quibo. This hill of Petaplan, like the forementioned hummock, may be at firſt miſtaken for an iſland,, though it be, in reality, a peninſula, which is joined to the continent by a low and narrow iſthmus, covered over with ſhrubs and ſmall trees. The bay of Seguataneio extends from this hill a great way to the weſtward: and it appears by a plan of the bay of Petaplan, which is part of that of Seguataneio, and is to be ſeen in the XXIXth plate, that at a ſmall diſtance from the hill, and oppoſite to the entrance of the bay, there is an aſſemblage of rocks, which are white, from the excrements of boobies and tropical birds. Four of theſe rocks are high and large, and, together with ſeveral ſmaller ones, are, by the help of a

le imagination, pretended to reſemble the
m of a croſs, and are called the White Friars.
eſe rocks, as appears by the plan, bear W. by
from Petaplan; and about ſeven miles to the
ſtward of them lies the harbour of Chequetan,
ich is ſtill more minutely diſtinguiſhed by a
ge and ſingle rock, that riſes out of the water,
mile and a half diſtant from the entrance, and
ars S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. from the middle of it. The ap-
arance of this entrance is very accurately re-
eſented in the XXXth plate, where (*e*) is the
ſt point of the harbour, and (*d*) the weſt, the
rementioned rock being marked (*f*.) In the
me view (*a*) is a large ſandy bay, but where
ere is no landing; (*b*) are four remarkable
hite rocks; and from the point (*c*) there runs
nother bay to the weſtward. To theſe direc-
ons I muſt add, that the coaſt is noways to be
eaded between the middle of October and the
ginning of May, nor is there any danger from
e winds; though, in the remaining part of the
ar, there are frequent and violent tornadoes,
eavy rains, and hard gales in all directions of
e compaſs.

Such are the infallible marks by which the har-
our of Chequetan may be known to thoſe who
eep well in with the land. But as to thoſe
ho keep at any conſiderable diſtance from the
oaſt, there is no other method to be taken for
nding the place, than that of making it by the
atitude; for there are ſo many ranges of moun-
ains riſing one upon the back of another within
and, that no drawings of the appearance of the
oaſt can be at all depended on when off at ſea;
very little change of diſtance or variation of po-
ition bringing new mountains in view, and pro-
ducing an infinity of different proſpects, which

render all attempts of delineating the aſpect
the coaſt impoſſible.

Having diſcuſſed the methods of diſcoverin
the harbour of Chequetan, it is time to inſe
the plan of the harbour itſelf; this is repreſen
ed in the XXXIſt plate, where it may be ſee
that its entrance is but about half a mile broad
the two points which form it, and which a
faced with rocks that are almoſt perpendicular
bear from each other S. E. and N. W. Th
harbour is invironed on all ſides, except to th
weſtward, with high mountains overſpread wit
trees. The paſſage into it is very ſafe on eithe
ſide of the rock that lies off the mouth of it
though we, both in coming in and going out
left it to the eaſtward. The ground without th
harbour is gravel mixed with ſtones, but within
it is a ſoft mud: and it muſt be remembered
that in coming to an anchor, a good allowanc
ſhould be made for a large ſwell, which frequent
ly cauſes a great ſend of the ſea; as likewiſe, fo
the ebbing and flowing of the tide, which w
obſerved to be about five feet, and that it ſe
nearly E. and W.

The watering place is ſituated in that part o
the harbour where freſh water is marked on the
plan. This, during the whole time of our ſtay,
had the appearance of a large ſtanding lake,
without any viſible outlet into the ſea, from
which it is ſeparated by a part of the ſtrand.
The origin of this lake is a ſpring that bubbles out
of the ground near half a mile within the coun-
try. We found the water a little brackiſh, but
more conſiderably ſo towards the ſea ſide; for
the nearer we advanced towards the ſpring head,
the ſofter and freſher it proved. This laid us
under a neceſſity of filling all our caſks from the
furtheſt part of the lake, and occaſioned us

ne trouble, and would have proved ſtill more ficult, had it not been for our particular ma- gement, which, on account of the conve- ncy of it, deſerves to be recommended to all o ſhall hereafter water at this place. Our thod conſiſted in making uſe of canoes, which w but little water; for loading them with a mber of ſmall caſks, they eaſily got up the e to the ſpring head; and the ſmall caſks be- there filled, were in the ſame manner tranſ- ted back again to the beach, where ſome of r hands always attended, to ſtart them into her caſks of a larger ſize.

Though this lake, during our continuance ere, appeared to have no out-let into the ſea, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that in the rainy ſon it overflows the ſtrand, and communicates th the ocean; for Dampier, who was former- here, ſpeaks of it as a large river. Indeed it neceſſary that a vaſt body of water ſhould be naſſed before the lake can riſe high enough to erflow the ſtrand, ſince the neighbouring lands e ſo low, that great part of them muſt be co- red with water before it can run out over the ach.

As the country hereabouts, particularly the ack of coaſt contiguous to Acapulco, appeared be well peopled and cultivated, we hoped to ve eaſily procured from thence ſome freſh pro- ſions and other refreſhments which we now ood greatly in need of. To facilitate theſe ews, the Commodore, the morning after we me to an anchor, ordered a party of forty men, ell armed, to march into the country, and to ndeavour to diſcover ſome town or village, here they were to attempt to ſet on foot a cor- eſpondence with the inhabitants; for when we ad once begun this intercourſe, we doubted not

but that, by proper preſents, we ſhould allure them to bring down to us whatever fruits or freſh proviſions were in their power; as our prizes abounded in various kinds of coarſe merchandiſe, which were of little conſequence to us, though to them they would be extremely valuable. Our people were directed, on this occaſion, to proceed with the greateſt circumſpection, and to make as little oſtentation of hoſtility as poſſible; for we were ſenſible we could find no wealth in theſe parts worth our notice; and what neceſſaries we really wanted, we expected would be better and more abundantly ſupplied by an open amicable traffic, than by violence and force of arms. But this endeavour of opening a commerce with the inhabitants proved ineffectual; for towards evening, the party which had been ordered to march into the country, returned greatly fatigued by their unuſual exerciſe, and ſome of them ſo far ſpent that they had fainted on the road, and were obliged to be brought back upon the ſhoulders of their companions. They had penetrated, as they conceived, about ten miles into the country, along a beaten track, where they often ſaw the freſh dung of horſes or mules. When they had got near five miles from the harbour, the road divided between the mountains into two branches, one running to the eaſt, and the other to the weſt. On deliberation concerning the courſe they ſhould take, it was agreed to continue their march along the eaſtern road: this when they had followed it for ſome time, led them at once into a large plain or Savannah; on one ſide of which they diſcovered a centinel on horſeback with a piſtol in his hand. It was ſuppoſed that, when they firſt ſaw him, he was aſleep; but his horſe ſtartled at the glittering of his arms, and, turning round ſuddenly,

n off with his maſter, who, though he was ve- near being unhorſed in the ſurpriſe, yet recover- his ſeat, and eſcaped with the loſs only of his t and his piſtol, which he dropped on the ound. Our people purſued him, in hopes of iſcovering the village or habitation which he ould retreat to; but as he had the advantage being on horſeback, they ſoon loſt ſight of im. Notwithſtanding his eſcape, they were nwilling to come back without making ſome iſcovery, and therefore ſtill followed the track ey were in, till the heat of the day increaſing, nd finding no water to quench their thirſt, they ere firſt obliged to halt, and then reſolved to eturn; for as they ſaw no ſigns of plantations r cultivated land, they had no reaſon to be- eve that there was any village or ſettlement ear them. However, to leave no means un- ied of procuring ſome intercourſe with the peo- le, the officers ſtuck up ſeveral poles in the oad, to which were affixed declarations, written n Spaniſh, encouraging the inhabitants to come own to the harbour to traffic with us, giving hem the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a kind reception, nd faithful payment for any proviſions they hould bring us. This was doubtleſs a very pru- ent meaſure, yet it produced no effect; for we ever ſaw any of them during the whole time of ur continuance at this port of Chequetan. In- eed it were to have been wiſhed that our men, pon the diviſion of the path, had taken the weſtern road inſtead of the eaſtern, for then hey would ſoon have been led to a village or own, which ſome Spaniſh manuſcripts mention s being in the neighbourhood of this port, and which, we afterwards learned, was not above wo miles from that turning.

And, on this occaſion, I cannot avoid mentioning another adventure, which happened to ſome of our people in the bay of Petaplan, as it may greatly aſſiſt the reader in forming a juſt idea of the temper and reſolution of the inhabitants of this part of the world. Some time after our arrival at Chequetan, Lieutenant Brett was ſent by the Commodore, with two of our boats under his command, to examine the coaſt to the eaſtward, particularly to make obſervations on the bay and watering place of Petaplan, a plan of which has been already referred to in this chapter. As Mr Brett with one of his boats was preparing to go on ſhore towards the hill of Petaplan, he, accidentally looking acroſs the bay, perceived on the oppoſite ſtrand, three ſmall ſquadrons of horſe parading upon the beach, and ſeemed to advance towards the place where he propoſed to land. On ſight of this he immediately put off the boat, though he had but ſixteen men with him, and ſtood over the bay towards them; and he ſoon came near enough to perceive that they were mounted on very ſightly horſes, and were armed with carbines and lances. On ſeeing him make towards them, they formed upon the beach, and ſeemed reſolved to diſpute his landing, firing ſeveral diſtant ſhot at him as he drew near; till, at laſt, the boat, being arrived within a reaſonable diſtance of the moſt advanced ſquadron, Mr Brett ordered his people to fire, upon which this reſolute cavalry inſtantly ran, with great confuſion, into the wood, through a ſmall opening which is delineated on the plan. In this precipitate flight one of their horſes fell down and threw his rider; but, whether he was wounded or not we could not diſcern, for both man and horſe ſoon got up again, and followed the reſt into the wood. In the mean time the other two

quadrons were calm ſpectators of the route of their comrades; for they were drawn up at a great diſtance behind, out of the reach of our ſhot, having halted on our firſt approach, and never advancing a ſtep afterwards. It was doubtleſs fortunate for our people that the enemy acted with ſo little prudence, and exerted ſo little ſpirit; ſince, had they concealed themſelves till our men had landed, it is ſcarcely poſſible but all the boat's crew muſt have fallen into their hands; as the Spaniards were not much ſhort of two hundred, and the whole number with Mr Hewett only amounted to ſixteen. However, the diſcovery of ſo conſiderable a force, collected in this bay of Petaplan, obliged us conſtantly to keep a boat or two before it: for we were apprehenſive that the cutter, which we had left to cruize off Acapulco, might, on her return, be ſurpriſed by the enemy, if ſhe did not receive timely information of her danger. But now to proceed with the account of the harbour of Chequetan:

After our unſucceſsful attempt to engage the people of the country to furniſh us with the neceſſaries we wanted, we deſiſted from any more endeavours of the ſame nature, and were obliged to be contented with what we could procure for ourſelves in the neighbourhood of the port. We caught fiſh here in tolerable quantities, eſpecially when the ſmoothneſs of the water permitted us to hale the ſeyne. Amongſt the reſt, we got cavallies, breams, mullets, ſoles, fiddle-fiſh, ſea-eggs, and lobſters: and we here, and in no other place, met with that extraordinary fiſh called the torpedo, or numbing fiſh, which is, in ſhape, very like the fiddle fiſh, and is not to be known from it but by a brown circular ſpot about the bigneſs of a crown-piece, near the centre of its back. Per-

haps its figure will be better underſtood, when I ſay it is a flat fiſh, much reſembling the thornback. This fiſh the torpedo is indeed of a moſt ſingular nature, productive of the ſtrangeſt effects on the human body: for whoever handles it, or happens even to ſet his foot upon it, is preſently ſeized with a numbneſs all over him; but which is more diſtinguiſhable in that limb which was in immediate contact with it. The ſame effect too will be, in ſome degree, produced by touching the fiſh with any thing held in the hand; ſince I myſelf had a conſiderable degree of numbneſs conveyed to my right arm, through a walking cane which I reſted on the body of the fiſh for a ſhort time only; and I make no doubt but I ſhould have been much more ſenſibly affected, had not the fiſh been near expiring when I made the experiment; as it is obſervable, that this influence acts with moſt vigour upon the fiſh's being firſt taken out of the water, and entirely ceaſes as ſoon as it is dead, ſo that it may be then handled, or even eaten, without any inconvenience. I ſhall only add, that the numbneſs of my arm upon this occaſion, did not go off on a ſudden, as the accounts of ſome naturaliſts gave me reaſon to expect, but diminiſhed gradually, ſo that I had ſome ſenſation of it remaining till the next day.

To the account given of the fiſh we met with here, I muſt add, that though turtle now grew ſcarce, and we found none in this harbour of Chequetan, yet our boats, which were ſtationed off Petaplan, often ſupplied us therewith; and though this was a food that we had been long, as it were, confined to (ſince it was the only freſh proviſions which we had taſted during near ſix months) yet we were far from being cloyed with

or from finding that the reliſh we had for it all diminiſhed.

The animals we met with on ſhore were principally guanos, with which the country abounds, and which are by ſome reckoned delicious food. We ſaw no beaſts of prey here, except we ſhould eſteem that amphibious animal, the allegator, as ſuch, ſeveral of which our people diſcovered, but none of them very large. However, we were ſatisfied that there were great numbers of tygers in the woods, though none of them came in ſight; for we every morning found the beach, near the watering-place, imprinted very thick with their foot-ſteps; but we never apprehended any miſchief from them, ſince they are by no means ſo fierce as the Aſiatic or African tyger, and are rarely, if ever, known to attack mankind. Birds were here in ſufficient plenty; for we had abundance of pheaſants of different kinds, ſome of them of an uncommon ſize, but they were all very dry and taſteleſs eating. And beſides theſe we had a variety of ſmaller birds, particularly parrots, which we often killed for food.

The fruits and vegetable refreſhments at this place were neither plentiful nor of the beſt kinds. There were, it is true, a few buſhes ſcattered about the woods, which ſupplied us with limes, but we ſcarcely could procure enough for our preſent uſe; and theſe, with a ſmall plumb, of an agreeable acid, called in Jamaica the hog-plum, together with another fruit called a Papah, were the only fruits to be found in the woods. Nor is there any other uſeful vegetable here, worth mentioning, except brook-lime: this indeed grew in great quantities near the freſh-water banks; and, as it was eſteemed an antiſcorbutic, we fed upon it frequently, though its extreme bitterneſs made it very unpalatable.

Theſe are the articles moſt worthy of notice in this harbour of Chequetan. I ſhall only mention a particular of the coaſt lying to the weſtward of it, that to the eaſtward having been already deſcribed. As Mr Anſon was always attentive to whatever might be of conſequence to thoſe who might frequent theſe ſeas hereafter, and as we had obſerved that there was a double land to the weſtward of Chequetan, which ſtretched out to a conſiderable diſtance, with a kind of opening, that appeared not unlike the inlet to ſome harbour, the Commodore, ſoon after we came to an anchor, ſent a boat to diſcover it more accurately; and it was found, on a nearer examination, that the two hills, which formed the double land, were joined together by a valley, and that there was no harbour nor ſhelter between them.

By all that hath been ſaid it will appear, that the conveniences of this port of Chequetan, particularly in the articles of refreſhment, are not altogether ſuch as might be deſired; but yet, upon the whole, it muſt be owned to be a place of conſiderable conſequence, and that the knowledge of it may be of great import to future cruiſers. For except Acapulco, which is in the hands of the enemy, it is the only ſecure harbour in a vaſt extent of coaſt. It lies at a proper diſtance from Acapulco for the convenience of ſuch ſhips as may have any deſigns on the Manila galeon; and it is a place where wood and water may be procured with great ſecurity, in deſpight of the efforts of the inhabitants of the adjacent diſtrict: for there is but one narrow path which leads through the woods into the country, and this is eaſily to be ſecured by a very ſmall party againſt all the ſtrength the Spaniards in that neighbourhood can muſter. After this account

Chequetan, and the coaſt contiguous to it, we w return to the recital of our own proceed-gs.

CHAP. XIII.

ur proceedings at Chequetan, and on the adjacent coaſt, till our ſetting ſail for Aſia.

THE next morning, after our coming to an anchor in the harbour of Chequetan, we nt about ninety of our men, well armed, on ore; forty of whom were ordered to march in- the country, as hath been mentioned, and the maining fifty were employed to cover the wa-ring-place, and to prevent any interruption om the natives.

Here we compleated the unloading of the Car-elo, and Carmin, which we had begun at ſea; at is to ſay, we took out of them the indico, cao, and cochineal, with ſome iron for ballaſt, hich were all the goods we intended to preſerve, ough they did not amount to a tenth of their rgoes. Here too it was agreed, after a ma-ure conſultation, to deſtroy the Tryal's prize, as ell as the Carmelo and Carmin, whoſe fate had een before reſolved on. Indeed the Tryal's rize was in good repair, and fit for the ſea; ut as the whole numbers on board our ſquadron id not amount to the compliment of a fourth ate man of war, we found it was impoſſible to ivide them into three ſhips, without rendering ach of thoſe ſhips incapable of navigating in ſafe-y, through the tempeſtuous weather we had eaſon to expect on the coaſt of China, where

we ſuppoſed we ſhould arrive about the time of the change of the monſoons. Theſe conſiderations determined the Commodore to deſtroy the Tryal's prize, and to reinforce the Glouceſter with the beſt part of her crew. And, in conſequence of this reſolve, all the ſtores on board the Tryal's prize were removed into the other ſhips, and the prize herſelf, with the Carmel and Carmin, were prepared for ſcuttling with all the expedition we were maſters of; but the great difficulties we were under, in providing a ſtock of water (which have been already touched on) together with the neceſſary repairs of our rigging, and other unavoidable occupations, took us up ſo much time, and found us ſuch unexpected employment, that it was near the end of April before we were in a condition to leave the place.

During our ſtay here there happened an incident, which, as it proved the means of convincing our friends in England of our ſafety, which, for ſometime, they had deſpaired of, and were then in doubt about, I ſhall beg leave particularly to recite. I have obſerved, in the preceding chapter, that from this harbour of Chequetan, there was but one path-way which led through the woods into the country; this we found much beaten, and were thence convinced, that it was well known to the inhabitants. As it paſſed by the ſpring head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach us, we, at ſome diſtance beyond the ſpring head, felled ſeveral large trees, and laid them one upon the other acroſs the path; and at this barricadoe we conſtantly kept a guard. We beſides ordered our men, employed in watering, to have their arms ready, and, in caſe of any alarm, to march inſtantly to this poſt: and though our principal intention

rein was to prevent our being disturbed by a- sudden attack of the enemy's horse, yet it an- ered another purpose, which was not in itself s important; this was, to hinder our own peo- from straggling singly into the country, where had reason to believe they would be surprised the Spaniards, who would doubtless be ex- mely solicitous to pick up some of them, in pes of getting intelligence of our future de- ns. To avoid this inconvenience, the strictest ders were given to the centinels, to let no per- whatever pass beyond their post; but, not- thstanding this precaution, we missed one wis Leger, who was the Commodore's cook: he was a Frenchman, and was suspected to be Papist, it was at first imagined that he had de- ted, with a view of betraying all that he knew the enemy, though this appeared, by the e- nt, to be an ill grounded surmise; for it was terwards known that he had been taken by me Indians, who carried him prisoner to Acapul- , from whence he was transferred to Mexico, and en to Vera Cruz, where he was shipped on board a ssel bound to Old Spain; but the vessel being o- iged by some accident to put into Lisbon, Leger caped on shore, and was by the British consul sent om thence to England, where he brought the first thentic account of the safety of the Commo- ore, and of his principal transactions in the outh Seas. The relation he gave of his own izure was, that he rambled into the woods at me distance from the barricadoe, where he had rst attempted to pass, but had been stopped, nd threatened to be punished; that his principal iew was to get a quantity of limes for his ma- ter's store; and that, in this occupation, he was urprised unawares by four Indians, who strip- ed him naked, and carried him in that condi- ion to Acapulco, exposed to the scorching hea

of the ſun, which, at that time of the year, ſho
with its greateſt violence; that afterwards,
Mexico, his treatment in priſon was ſufficient
ſevere; ſo that the whole courſe of his captivi
was a continued inſtance of the hatred whi
the Spaniards bear to all thoſe who endeavour
diſturb them in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the coa
of the South Seas. Indeed Leger's fortune w
upon the whole extremely ſingular; as, after t
hazards he had run in the Commodore's ſquadro
and the ſeverities he had ſuffered in his long co
finement amongſt the enemy, a more fatal diſa
ter attended him on his return for England; f
though, when he arrived in London, ſome of M
Anſon's friends intereſted themſelves in relievi
him from the poverty to which his captivity ha
reduced him, yet he did not long enjoy the be
nefit of their humanity, ſince he was killed in a
inſignificant night-brawl, the cauſe of whic
could ſcarcely be diſcovered.

And on occaſion of this ſurpriſal of Leger,
muſt obſerve, that though the enemy never ap
peared in ſight, during our ſtay in the harbou
yet we perceived that large parties of them wer
encamped in the woods about us; for we coul
ſee their ſmokes, and could thence determin
that they were poſted in a circular line, ſur
rounding us at a diſtance; and juſt before ou
coming away, they ſeemed by the increaſe o
their fires, to have received a conſiderable rein
forcement. But to return:

Towards the latter end of April, the unload
ing of our three prizes, our wooding and water
ing, and in ſhort every one of our propoſed em
ployments at the harbour of Chequetan were
compleated; ſo that, on the 27th of April, the
Tryal's prize, the Carmelo, and the Carmin, all
which we here intended to deſtroy, were towed

ſhore and ſcuttled, a quantity of combuſtible terials having been diſtributed in their upper rks; and the next morning the Centurion with Glouceſter, weighed anchor; though, as ir was but little wind, and that not in their our, they were obliged to warp out of the har-ur. When they had reached the offing, one the boats was diſpached back again to ſet fire our prizes, which was accordingly executed. ter this a canoe was left, fixed to a grapnel in middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well ked, incloſing a letter to Mr Hughes, who mmanded the cutter which had been ordered cruiſe before the port of Acapulco when we rſelves quitted that ſtation. And on this oc-ion, I muſt mention more particularly than I ve yet done, the views of the Commodore in ving the cutter before that port.

When we were neceſſitated to proceed for hequetan to recruit our water, Mr Anſon con-ered, that our arrival in that harbour would on be known at Acapulco; and therefore he ped, that, on the intelligence of our being em-oyed in port, the galeon might put to ſea, e-ecially as Chequetan is ſo very remote from the urſe generally ſteered by the galeon: he there-re ordered the cutter to cruize twenty-four days f the port of Acapulco, and her commander as directed, on perceiving the galeon under ſail, make the beſt of his way to the Commodore Chequetan. As the Centurion was doubtleſs much better ſailor than the galeon, Mr Anſon, this caſe, reſolved to have got to ſea as ſoon poſſible, and to have purſued the galeon a-roſs the Pacific ocean; where, ſuppoſing he ould not have met with her in his paſſage which, conſidering that he would have kept early the ſame parallel, was very improbable);

yet he was certain of arriving off Cape Eſpiri Santo, on the iſland of Samal, before her; a that being the firſt land ſhe makes on her retu to the Philippines, we could not have failed have fallen in with her, by cruiſing a few da in that ſtation: however the Viceroy of Mexi ruined this project, by keeping the galeon in t port of Acapulco all that year.

The letter left in the canoe for Mr Hughes, t commander of the cutter; the time of whoſe r turn was now conſiderably elapſed, directed hi to go back immediately to his former ſtation b fore Acapulco, where he would find Mr Anſo who reſolved to cruize for him there a certa number of days, after which it was added, th the Commodore would return to the ſouthwar to join the reſt of the ſquadron. This laſt artic was inſerted to deceive the Spaniards, if the got poſſeſſion of the canoe, as we afterward learned they did, but could not impoſe on M Hughes, who well knew that the Commodor had no ſquadron to join, nor any intention o ſteering back to Peru.

Being now in the offing of Chequetan, boun croſs the vaſt Pacific ocean in our way to Chi na, we were impatient to run off the coaſt a ſoon as poſſible, ſince the ſtormy ſeaſon was ap proaching apace. As we had no farther view in the American ſeas, we had hoped that nothing would have prevented us from ſteering to the weſtward the moment we got out of the harbour of Chequetan; and it was no ſmall mortification to us, that our neceſſary employment there had detained us ſo much longer than we expected; but now, when we had put to ſea, we were fur ther detained by the abſence of the cutter, and the neceſſity we were under of ſtanding towards Acapulco in ſearch of her. Indeed, as the time of her cruiſe had been expired for near a fortnight,

ſuſpected that ſhe had been diſcovered from ſhore, and that the Governor of Acapulco d thereupon ſent out a force to ſeize her, ich, as ſhe carried but ſix hands, was no very ficult enterpriſe. However, this being only njecture, the Commodore, as ſoon as he was t clear of the harbour of Chequetan, ſtood a- ng the coaſt to the eaſtward in ſearch of her; d, to prevent her paſſing by us in the dark, we ought to every night, and the Glouceſter, hoſe ſtation was a league within us towards the ore, carried a light, which the cutter could t but perceive if ſhe kept along ſhore, we ſuppoſed ſhe would do; beſides, as a rther ſecurity, the Centurion and Glouce- er alternately ſhowed two falſe fires every half our. Indeed, had ſhe eſcaped us, ſhe would ve found orders in the canoe to have return- d immediately before Acapulco, where Mr nſon propoſed to cruiſe for her ſome days.

By Sunday, the 2d of May, we were advanced ithin three leagues of Acapulco, and having en nothing of our boat, we gave her over for ſt, which, beſides the compaſſionate concern or our ſhip-mates, and for what it was appre- ended they might have ſuffered, was in itſelf a misfortune which, in our preſent ſcarcity of hands, we were all greatly intereſted in; ſince the crew f the cutter, conſiſting of ſix men and the Lieu- enant, were the very flower of our people, pur- poſely picked out for this ſervice, and known to e every one of them of tried and approved reſo lution, and as ſkilful ſeamen as ever trode a deck. However, as it was the general belief among us hat they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the Commodore's prudence ſuggeſted a project which he hoped would recover them. This was founded on our having many Spaniſh and Indian

priſoners in our poſſeſſion, and a number of fi negroes, who could be of no ſervice to us in th navigating of the ſhip. The Commodore there fore wrote a letter the ſame day to the governo of Acapulco, telling him, that he would relea them all, provided the governor returned th cutter's crew. This letter was diſpatched in th afternoon, by a Spaniſh officer of whoſe honou we had a good opinion, and who was furniſhe with a launch belonging to one of our prize and a crew of ſix other priſoners, who gave the parole for their return. The Spaniſh officer too beſides the Commodore's letter, carried with hi a joint petition, ſigned by all the reſt of the pri ſoners, beſeeching the governor to acquieſce i the terms propoſed for their liberty. From conſideration of the number of our priſoners and the quality of ſome of them, we did not doub but the governor would readily comply with M Anſon's propoſal, and therefore we kept plying on and off the whole night, intending to keep well in with the land, that we might receive an anſwer at the limited time, which was the next day, being Monday; but both on Monday and Tueſday we were driven ſo far off ſhore, that we could not hope that any anſwer could reach us; and even on the Wedneſday morning we found ourſelves fourteen leagues from the har bour of Acapulco; however, as the wind was then favourable, we preſſed forwards with all our ſail, and did not doubt of getting in with the land that afternoon. Whilſt we were thus ſtanding in, the centinel called out from the maſt-head, that he ſaw a boat under ſail, at a conſiderable diſtance, to the ſouth eaſtward: this we took for granted was the anſwer of the governor to the Commodore's meſſage, and we inſtantly edged towards her; but as we approached her we found, to our inſpeakable joy, that it was our own cut-

r. And though, while ſhe was ſtill at a di-
ance, we imagined that ſhe had been diſcharged
t of the port of Acapulco by the governor,
t, when ſhe drew nearer, the wan and meagre
untenances of the crew, the length of their
eards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their
ices, convinced us that they had ſuffered much
eater hardſhips than could be expected from
en the ſeverities of a Spaniſh priſon. They
ere obliged to be helped into the ſhip, and were
mediately put to bed, where, by reſt and
uriſhing diet, which they were plentifully ſup-
lied with from the Commodore's table, they re-
vered their health and vigour apace. And
w we learned, that they had kept the ſea the
hole time of their abſence, which was above
x weeks; that when they had finiſhed their
uiſe before Acapulco, and had juſt begun to
y to the weſtward, in order to join the ſquadron,
ſtrong adverſe current had forced them down
e coaſt to the eaſtward, in ſpite of all their ef-
rts to the contrary: that at length their water
eing all expended, they were obliged to ſearch
e coaſt farther on to the eaſtward, in queſt of
me convenient landing-place, where they might
et a freſh ſupply; that in this diſtreſs they ran
pward of eighty leagues to leeward, and found
very where ſo large a ſurf, that there was not
e leaſt poſſibility of their landing; that they
aſſed ſome days in this dreadful ſituation with-
ut water, having no other means left them to
llay their thirſt, than ſucking the blood of the
urtle which they caught; that at laſt giving up
l hopes of ſuccour, the heat of the climate too
ugmenting their neceſſities, and rendering their
ufferings inſupportable, they abandoned them-
elves to deſpair, fully perſuaded that they ſhould
periſh by the moſt terrible of all deaths; but that

ſoon after a moſt unexpected incident happily re-
lieved them; for there fell ſo heavy a rain, that
on ſpreading their ſails horizontally, and putting
bullets in the centers of them, to draw them to
a point, they caught as much water as filled all
their caſks; that immediately upon this fortunate
ſupply they ſtood to the weſtward, in queſt of the
Commodore, and being now luckily favoured by
a ſtrong current, they joined us in leſs than fifty
hours from that time, after having been abſent
in the whole full forty-three days. Thoſe who
have an idea of the inconſiderable ſize of a cutter
belonging to a ſixty-gun ſhip (being only an open
boat about twenty-two feet in length) and who
will reflect on the various caſualties that muſt
have attended her during a ſix weeks continuance
alone in the open ocean, on ſo impracticable and
dangerous a coaſt, will readily own, that her re-
turn to us at laſt, after all the difficulties which
ſhe actually experienced, and the dangers to
which ſhe was each hour expoſed, may be conſi-
dered as little ſhort of miraculous.

I cannot finiſh this article of the cutter, with-
out remarking how ſlender a reliance navigators
ought to have on the accounts of the buccaneer
writers: for though, in this run of her's, eighty
leagues to the eaſtward of Acapulco, ſhe found no
place where it was poſſible that a boat could land,
yet thoſe writers have not been aſhamed to feign
harbours and convenient watering-places within
theſe limits, thereby expoſing ſuch as ſhould con-
fide in their relations to the riſk of being deſtroy-
ed by thirſt.

I muſt farther add, on this occaſion, that
when we ſtood near the port of Acapulco, in or-
der to ſend our meſſage to the Governor, and to
receive his anſwer, Mr Brett took that opportu-
nity, of delineating a view of the entrance of the

port, and of the neighbouring coaſt, which, added to the plan of the place formerly mentioned, may be of conſiderable uſe hereafter, and is therefore exhibited in the XXXIId plate. In this plate (*a*) is the weſt point of the harbour, called the Griffo, being in the latitude of 16° : 45′; (*b c*) is the iſland near it, bearing from the obſerver N. by E. three leagues diſtant; (*d*) is the eaſt point of the harbour; (*e*) port Marquis; (*f*) Sierra di Brea; (*h*) a white rock in the harbour; and (*g*) watch towers.

Having thus recovered our cutter, the ſole object of our coming a ſecond time before Acapulco, the Commodore determined not to loſe a moment's time more, but to run off the coaſt with the utmoſt expedition; both as the ſtormy ſeaſon on the coaſt of Mexico was now approaching apace, and as we were apprehenſive of having the weſterly monſoon to ſtruggle with when we came upon the coaſt of China. For this reaſon we no longer ſtood towards Acapulco, as at preſent we wanted no anſwer from the Governor. However, Mr Anſon reſolved not to deprive his priſoners of the liberty which he had promiſed them; and therefore they were all immediately embarked in two launches, which belonged to our prizes, thoſe from the Centurion in one launch; and thoſe from the Glouceſter in the other. The launches were well equipped with maſts, ſails, and oars: and, leſt the wind might prove unfavourable, they had a ſtock of water and proviſions put on board them ſufficient for fourteen days. There were diſcharged thirty-nine perſons from on board the Centurion, and eighteen from the Glouceſter, the greateſt part of them were Spaniards, the reſt being indians and ſick negroes. Indeed, as our crews were very weak, we kept the Mulattoes, and

ſome of the ſtouteſt of our negroes, with a fe
Indians, to aſſiſt us; but we diſmiſſed every Sp
niſh priſoner whatever. We have ſince learne
that theſe two launches arrived ſafe at Acapulc
where the priſoners could not enough extol the hu
manity with which they had been treated. It ſeem
the Governor, before their arrival, had returne
a very obliging anſwer to our letter, and had
the ſame time ordered out two boats laden wit
the choiceſt refreſhments and proviſions that wer
to be procured at Acapulco, which he intende
as a preſent to the Commodore; but theſe boat
not having found our ſhips, were at length obliged
to put back again, after having thrown all thei
proviſions overboard in a ſtorm which threatened
their deſtruction.

The ſending away our priſoners was our laſt
tranſaction on the American coaſt; for no ſoon-
er had we parted with them, than we and the
Glouceſter made ſail to the S. W. propoſing to
get a good offing from the land, where we hop-
ed in a few days to meet with a regular trade-
wind, which the accounts of former navigators
had repreſented as much briſker and ſteadier in
this ocean than in any other part of the world.
For it has been eſteemed no uncommon paſſage,
to run from hence to the eaſtermoſt iſles of Aſia
in two months; and we flattered ourſelves that
we were as capable of making an expeditious
voyage as any ſhips that had ever ſailed this
courſe before us; ſo that we hoped ſoon to gain
the coaſt of China, for which we were now bound.
As we conceived this navigation to be free from
all kinds of embarraſſments of bad weather, fa-
tigue, or ſickneſs, conformable to the general i-
dea of it given by former travellers, we conſe-
quently undertook it with alacrity, eſpecially as
it was no contemptible ſtep towards our arrival at

r native country, for which many of us by this me began to have great longings. Thus on the th of May, we for the laſt time loſt ſight of e mountains of Mexico, perſuaded that, in few weeks, we ſhould arrive at the river of Can- n in China, where we expected to meet with any Engliſh ſhips, and with numbers of our ountrymen, and hoped to enjoy the advantages an amicable well-frequented port, inhabited a poliſhed people, and abounding with the nveniencies and indulgencies of a civilized life; eſſings which now, for near twenty months, d never been once in our power. But before e take our final leave of America, there yet re- ains the conſideration of a matter well worthy attention, the diſcuſſion of which ſhall be re- rred to in the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. XIV.

A brief account of what might have been expected from our ſquadron, had it arrived in the South Seas in good time.

AFTER the recital of the tranſactions of the Commodore, and the ſhips under his com- mand, on the coaſts of Peru and Mexico, con- tained in the preceding narration; it will be no uſeleſs digreſſion to examine what the whole ſquadron might have been capable of atchieving, had it arrived on its deſtined ſcene of action in ſo good a plight as it would probably have done, had the paſſage round Cape Horn been attempt- ed at a more ſeaſonable time of the year. This diſquiſition may be ſerviceable to thoſe who ſhall

hereafter form projects of the like nature f
that part of the world, or who may be intruſte
with their execution. And therefore I propoſ
in this chapter to conſider, as ſuccinctly as I ca
the numerous advantages which the public migh
have received from the operations of the ſquadro
had it ſet ſail from England a few months ſoone
than it did.

To begin then, I preſume it will be grante
me, that in the ſummer time we might have go
round Cape Horn with an inconſiderable loſs
and without any material damage to our ſhips o
rigging. For the Duke and Ducheſs of Briſto
who, between them, had above three hundre
men, buried no more than two, from the coa
of Brazil to Juan Fernandes; and out of a hun
dred and eighty-three hands, which were o
board the Duke alone, there were only twenty
one ſick of the ſcurvy when they arrived at tha
iſland: whence, as men of war are much better
provided with all conveniencies than privateers
we might doubtleſs have appeared before Baldivia
in full ſtrength, and in a condition of entering
immediately on action; and therefore, as that
place was in a very defenceleſs ſtate, its cannon
incapable of ſervice, and its garriſon in a great
meaſure, unarmed, it was impoſſible that it could
have oppoſed our force, or that its half ſtarved
inhabitants, moſt of whom are convicts baniſhed
thither from other parts, could have had any o-
ther thoughts than that of ſubmitting. This
would have been a very important acquiſition,
ſince when Baldivia, which is an excellent port,
had been once in our poſſeſſion, we ſhould im-
mediately have been terrible to the whole king-
dom of Chili, and ſhould doubtleſs have awed
the moſt diſtant parts of the Spaniſh empire in
America. Indeed it is far from improbable,

t, by a prudent uſe of this place, aided by other advantages, we might have given a vio- t ſhock to the authority of Spain on that whole ntinent, and might have rendered ſome, at ſt, of her provinces independent. This uld certainly have turned the whole attention the Spaniſh miniſtry to that part of the world ere the danger would have been ſo preſſing; d thence Great Britain, and her allies, might ve been rid of the numerous difficulties which wealth of the Spaniſh Indies, operating in njunction with the Gallic intrigues, have con- ntly thrown in their way.

But that I may not be thought to over-rate the rce of this ſquadron, by aſcribing to it a pow- of overturning the Spaniſh government in A- erica, it is neceſſary to enter into a more par- ular diſcuſſion, and to premiſe a few obſerva- ns on the condition of the provinces border- g near the South Seas, and on the diſpoſition the inhabitants, both Spaniards and Indians, that time. For hence it will appear, that the njuncture was the moſt favourable we could ve deſired; ſince we ſhall find, that the Creo- an ſubjects were diſaffected, and their Gover- rs at variance; that the country was wretch- ly provided with arms and ſtores, and they had llen into a total neglect of all military re- ulations in their garriſons; an that the Indians n their frontier were univerſally diſcontented, nd ſeemed to be watching, with impatience, he favourable moment when they might take a evere revenge for the barbarities they had groan- d under during more than two ages; ſo that e- ery circumſtance concurred to facilitate the en- erpriſes of our ſquadron. Of all theſe articles we were amply informed by the letters we took n board our prizes; none of theſe veſſels, as I

remember, having had the precaution to thro their papers over-board.

The ill blood among the governors was gre ly augmented by their apprehenſions of our ſqu dron; for every one being willing to have it b lieved that the bad condition of his governme was not the effect of negligence, there were co tinual demands and remonſtrances among the in order to throw the blame upon each othe Thus, for inſtance, the preſident of St Jago Chili, the preſident of Panama, and many oth governors and military officers, were perpetual ſoliciting the Viceroy of Peru to furniſh the with the neceſſary ſums of money for puttin their provinces and places in a proper ſtate d defence to oppoſe our deſigns; but the cuſtom ary anſwer of the Viceroy to theſe repreſentation was, That he was unable to comply with the requeſts; urging the emptineſs of the royal che at Lima, and the difficulties he was under t ſupport the expences of his own government; h in one of his letters (which we intercepted) men tioning his apprehenſions that he might ſoon b neceſſitated to ſtop the pay of the troops, an even of the garriſon of Callao, the key of the whole kingdom of Peru. Indeed he did at time remit to theſe governors ſome part of their de mands; but as what he ſent them was greatly ſhort of their wants, theſe partial ſupplies rathe tended to the raiſing jealouſies and heart-burn ings among them, that contributed to the pur poſes for which they had at firſt been deſired.

Beſides theſe mutual janglings amongſt the governors, the whole body of the people were extremely diſſatisfied; they being fully perſua ded that the affairs of Spain, for many years be fore, had been managed by the influence of a particular foreign intereſt, which was altogether

ached from the advantages of the Spaniſh na-
n: ſo that the inhabitants of theſe diſtant pro-
ces believed themſelves to be ſacrificed to an
bition which never conſidered their conveni-
ce or emoluments, nor paid any regard to the
utation of their name, or the honour of their
untry. That this was the temper of the Cre-
an Spaniards at that time, might be proved
m a hundred inſtances: but I ſhall content
ſelf with one, which is indeed concluſive: this
the teſtimony of the French mathematicians
t into America, to meaſure the magnitude of
equatorial degree of latitude. For in the re-
ion of the murder of a ſurgeon belonging to
eir company, in one of the cities of Peru, and
the popular tumult thence occaſioned, written
one of thoſe aſtronomers, the author confeſ-
s, that the multitude, during the uproar, uni-
rſally joined in imprecations on their bad go-
rnment, and beſtowed the moſt abuſive lan-
age upon the French, deteſting them, in all
obability, more particularly as being of a na-
on to whoſe influence in the Spaniſh counſels
e Spaniards imputed all their misfortunes.

And whilſt the Creolian Spaniards were thus
iſſatisfied, it appears, by the letters we inter-
epted, that the Indians, on almoſt every fron-
er, were ripe for a revolt, and would have taken
p arms upon the ſlighteſt encouragement; par-
cularly the Indians in the ſouthern parts of Pe-
u, as likewiſe the Arraucos, and the reſt of the
hilian Indians, the moſt powerful and terrible
o the Spaniſh name of any on that continent.
or it ſeems, in ſome diſputes between the Spa-
iards and the Indians, which happened a ſhort
ime before our arrival, the Spaniards had inſult-
d the Indians with an account of the force
hich they expected from Old Spain, under the

command of Admiral Pizarro, and had vaunted that he was coming thither to compleat the great work which had been left unfiniſhed by his anceſtors. Theſe threats alarmed the Indians, and made them believe, that their extirpation was reſolved on. For the Pizarros being the firſt conquerors of that coaſt, the Peruvian Indians held the name, and all that bore it, in execration; not having forgot the deſtruction of their monarchy, the maſſacre of their beloved Inca Atapalipa, the extinction of their religion, and the ſlaughter of their anceſtors; all perpetrated by the family of the Pizarros. The Chilian Indians too abhorred a chief who was deſcended of a race, which, by its Lieutenants, had firſt attempted to enſlave them, and had neceſſitated the ſtouteſt of their tribes, for more than a century, to be continually waſting their blood in defence of their independency.

Nor let it be ſuppoſed, that among the barbarous nations the traditions of theſe diſtant tranſactions could not be preſerved for ſo long an interval; ſince thoſe who have been acquainted with that part of the world agree, that the Indians, in their public feaſts, and annual ſolemnities, conſtantly revive the memory of theſe tragic incidents; and ſuch as have been preſent at theſe ſpectacles, have conſtantly obſerved, that all the recitals and repreſentations of this kind were received with emotions ſo vehement, and with ſo enthuſiaſtic a rage, as plainly demonſtrated how ſtrongly the memory of their former wrongs was implanted in them, and how acceptable the means of revenge would at all times prove. To this I muſt add too, that the Spaniſh governors themſelves were ſo fully informed of the diſpoſition of the Indians at this conjuncture, and were ſo apprehenſive of a general defection among

em, that they employed all their induſtry to concile the moſt dangerous tribes, and to pre-nt them from immediately taking up arms; a-ongſt the reſt, the preſident of Chili in parti-lar made large conceſſions to the Arraucos, and e other Chilian Indians, by which, and by diſ-ibuting conſiderable preſents to their leading en, he, at laſt, got them to conſent to a pro-ngation of the truce between the two nations. ut theſe negotiations were not concluded at e time when we might have been in the South as; and, had they been compleated, yet the tred of theſe Indians to the Spaniards was ſo eat, that it would have been impoſſible for their iefs, how deeply ſoever corrupted, to have pt them from joining us againſt their old de-ſted enemy.

Thus then it appears, that on our arrival in e South Seas, we might have found the whole oaſt unprovided of troops, and deſtitute even arms: for we well know, from very particulr telligence, that there were not three hundred re arms, of which too the greateſt part were atch-locks, in all the province of Chili; whilſt the ſame time, the Indians were ripe for a re-olt, the Spaniards diſpoſed to mutiny, and the overnors enraged with one another, and each repared to rejoice in the diſgrace of his antago-iſt. At this fortunate criſis we, on the other and, might have conſiſted of near two thouſand en, the greateſt part in health and vigour, all ell armed, and united under a chief, whoſe en-erpriſing genius, as we have ſeen, could not be epreſſed by a continued ſeries of the moſt ſini-er events, and whoſe equable and prudent turn f temper would have remained unvaried in the idſt of the greateſt degree of good ſucceſs; and ho beſides poſſeſſed, in a diſtinguiſhed manner,

the two qualities the moſt neceſſary for theſe u
common undertakings, I mean that of maintai
ing his authority, and preſerving, at the ſa
time, the affections of his people. Our oth
officers too, of every rank, appear, by the e
perience the public hath ſince had of them,
have been equal to any attempt they might ha
been charged with by their commander: a
our men (at all times brave, if well conduct
in ſuch a cauſe, where treaſure was the obje
and under ſuch leaders, would, doubtleſs, ha
been prepared to rival the moſt celebrated a
chievements hitherto performed by Britiſh ma
ners.

It cannot then be conteſted, but that Baldiv
muſt have ſurrendered on the appearance of o
ſquadron; after which, it may be preſumed, th
the Arraucos, the Pulches, and Penguinche
inhabiting the banks of the river Imperial, abo
twenty-five leagues to the northward of this plac
would have immediately taken up arms, bei
diſpoſed thereto, as hath been already relate
and encouraged by the arrival of ſo conſiderabl
a force in their neighbourhood. As theſe Ind
ans can bring into the field near thirty thouſan
men, the greateſt part of them horſe, their fir
ſtep would have been the invading the provinc
of Chili, which they would have found totall
unprovided both of ammunition and weapons;
and as its inhabitants are a luxurious and effe
minate race, they would have been incapable
on ſuch an emergency, of giving any oppoſition
to this rugged enemy; ſo that it is no ſtrained
conjecture to imagine, that the Indians would
have been ſoon maſters of the whole country
Moreover, the other Indians on the frontiers o
Peru, being equally diſpoſed with the Arraucos
to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, it is highly pro-

ble that they likewiſe would have embraced is favourable occaſion, and that a general inſurrection would have taken place through all the paniſh territories of South America; in which ſe, the only reſource left to the Creolians (diſisfied as they were with the Spaniſh government) would have been, to have made the beſt rms they could with their Indian neighbours, d to have withdrawn themſelves from the obeence of a maſter who had ſhown ſo little regard their ſecurity. This laſt ſuppoſition may perps appear chimerical to thoſe who meaſure the ſſibility of all events, by the ſcanty ſtandard of eir own experience: but the temper of the times, d the ſtrong diſlike of the natives to the meares then purſued by the Spaniſh court, ſufficitly evince, at leaſt, its poſſibility. However, t to inſiſt on the preſumption of a general reolt, it is ſufficient for our purpoſe to conclude, at the Arraucos would ſcarcely have failed of king arms on our appearance: ſince this alone ould ſo far have terrified the enemy, that they ould no longer have employed their thoughts on e means of oppoſing us, but would have turned l their care to the Indian affairs; as they ſtill member, with the utmoſt horror, the ſacking their cities, the rifling of their convents, the ptivity of their wives and daughters, and the ſolation of their country by theſe reſolute ſaages, in the laſt war between the two nations. or it muſt be obſerved, that the Chilian Indians ave been frequently ſucceſsful againſt the Spaiards, and poſſeſs, at this time, a large tract of ountry, which was formerly full of Spaniſh owns and villages, whoſe inhabitants were all ither deſtroyed, or carried into captivity by the Arraucos, and the other neighbouring Indians,

who, in a war againſt the Spaniards, never f
to join their forces.

But even, independent of an Indian revo
there were two places only, on all the coaſt
the South Sea, which could be ſuppoſed capab
of reſiſting our ſquadron; theſe were the citi
of Panama and Callao. As to the firſt of the
its fortifications were ſo decayed, and it was
much in want of powder, that the preſident hi
ſelf, in an intercepted letter, acknowledged
was incapable of being defended; whence I ta
it for granted, it would have given us but litt
trouble, eſpecially if we had opened a comm
nication acroſs the iſthmus, with our fleet on t
other ſide. And, with regard to the city a
port of Callao, its condition was not much be
ter than that of Panama; ſince its walls are bu
upon the plain ground, without either out-wo
or ditch before them, and conſiſt only of ver
ſlender feeble maſonry, without any earth behi
them; ſo that a battery of five or ſix pieces o
cannon, raiſed any where within four or fi
hundred paces of the place, would have had
full view of the whole rampart, and would hav
opened it in a ſhort time; and the breach here
formed, as the walls are ſo extremely thin, coul
not have been difficult of aſcent; for the ruin
would have been but little higher than the ſurfac
of the ground; and it would have yielded thi
particular advantage to the aſſailants, that th
bullets, which grazed upon it, would have drive
before them ſuch ſhivers of brick and ſtone, a
would have prevented the garriſon from formin
behind it, ſuppoſing that the troops employed i
defence of the place, ſhould have ſo far ſurpaſſe
the uſual limits of Creolian bravery, as to reſolv
to ſtand a general aſſault. Indeed, ſuch a reſo
lution cannot be imputed to them; for the gar

ſon and people were, in general, diſſatisfied ith the Viceroy's behaviour, and were never exected to act a vigorous part. On the contrary, e Viceroy himſelf greatly apprehended that the ommodore would make him a viſit at Lima, e capital of the kingdom of Peru; to prevent hich, if poſſible, he had ordered twelve galleys be built at Guaiaquil, and other places, which ere intended to oppoſe the landing of our boats, nd to hinder us from puſhing our men on ſhore. ut this was an impracticable project of defence, nd proceeded on the ſuppoſition that our ſhips, hen we ſhould land our men, would keep at uch a diſtance, that theſe galleys, by drawing ittle water, would have been out of the reach of ur guns; whereas the Commodore, before he ad made ſuch an attempt, would, doubtleſs, ave been poſſeſſed of ſeveral prize ſhips, which e would not have heſitated to have run on ſhore or the protection of his boats; and, beſides, here were many places on that coaſt, and one particularly in the neighbourhood of Callao, where there was good anchoring, though a great depth of water, within a cable's length of the ſhore; conſequently the cannon of the man of war would have ſwept all the coaſt to above a mile's diſtance from the water's edge, and would have effectually prevented any force from aſſembling, to oppoſe the landing and forming of our men: and this landing-place had the additional advantage, that it was but two leagues diſtant from Lima; ſo that we might have been at that city, within four hours after we ſhould have been firſt diſcovered from the ſhore. The place I have in view, is about two leagues ſouth of Callao, and juſt to the northward of the head land, called, in Frezier's draught of that coaſt, Morro Solar. Here there is ſeventy or eighty fathom of water,

within two cables length of the ſhore; and here the Spaniards themſelves, were ſo apprehenſive of our attempting to land, that they had projected to build a fort cloſe to the water; but as there was no money in the royal cheſts, they could not compleat ſo conſiderable a work; and therefore they contented themſelves with keeping a guard of a hundred horſe there, that they might be ſure to receive early notice of our appearance on that coaſt. Indeed ſome of them, as we were told, conceiving our management at ſea to be as puſillanimous as their own, pretended that this was a road where the Commodore would never dare to hazard his ſhips, for fear that, in ſo great a depth of water, their anchors could not hold them.

And let it not be imagined, that I am proceeding upon groundleſs and extravagant preſumptions, when I conclude, that fifteen hundred, or a thouſand of our people, well conducted, ſhould have been an over-match for any numbers the Spaniards could muſter in South America; ſince, not to mention the experience we had of them at Paita and Petaplan, it muſt be remembered, that our Commodore was extremely ſolicitous to have all his men trained to the dextrous uſe of their fire-arms; whereas the Spaniards, in this part of the world, were wretchedly provided with arms, and were very aukward in the management of the few they had: and though, on their repeated repreſentations, the court of Spain had ordered ſeveral thouſand fire-locks to be put on board Pizarro's ſquadron, yet thoſe, it is evident, could not have been in America time enough to have been employed againſt us. Hence then, by our arms, and our readineſs in the uſe of them (not to inſiſt on the timidity and ſoftneſs of our enemy) we ſhould, in ſome degree, have had the

ame advantages which the Spaniards themſelves ad on the firſt diſcovery of this country, againſt s naked and unarmed inhabitants.

Now let it, in the next place, be conſidered, what were the events which we had to fear, or what were the circumſtances which could have prevented us from giving law to all the coaſt of South America, and thereby cutting off from Spain, the reſources which ſhe drew from thoſe immenſe provinces. By ſea there was no force capable of oppoſing us; for how ſoon ſoever we had ſailed, Pizzaro's ſquadron could not have ſailed ſooner than it did; and therefore could not have avoided the fate it met with. As we ſhould have been maſters of the ports of Chili, we could thereby have ſupplied ourſelves with the proviſions we wanted in the greateſt plenty: and from Baldivia to the equinoctial, we ran no riſque of loſing our men by ſickneſs, (that being of all climates the moſt temperate and healthy) nor of having our ſhips diſabled by bad weather. And had we wanted ſailors to aſſiſt in the navigating of our ſquadron, whilſt a conſiderable proportion of our men were employed on ſhore, we could not have failed of getting whatever numbers we pleaſed in the ports we ſhould have taken, and from the prizes which would have fallen into our hands. For I muſt obſerve, that the Indians, who are the principal mariners in that part of the world, are extremely docile and dextrous; and though they are not fit to ſtruggle with the inclemencies of a cold climate, yet, in temperate ſeas, they are moſt uſeful and laborious ſeamen.

Thus then it appears, what important revolutions might have been brought about by our ſquadron, had it departed from England as early as it ought to have done: and, from hence, it is eaſy

to conclude, what immenſe advantages might have thence accrued to the public. For, as, on our ſucceſs, it would have been impoſſible that the kingdom of Spain ſhould have received any treaſure from the provinces bordering on the South Seas, or ſhould even have had any communication with them, it is certain that the whole attention of that monarchy would have been immediately employed in endeavouring to regain theſe ineſtimable territories, either by force of arms or compact. By the firſt of theſe methods it was ſcarcely poſſible they could ſucceed; for it muſt have been at leaſt a twelvemonth after our arrival, before any ſhips from Spain could have got into the South Seas, and when they had been there, they would have found themſelves without reſource; ſince they would probably have been ſeparated, diſabled, and ſickly; and would then have had no port remaining in their poſſeſſion, where they could either rendezvous or reſiſt: whilſt we might have been ſupplied acroſs the iſthmus with whatever neceſſaries, ſtores, or even men, we wanted; and might thereby have ſupported our ſquadron in as good a plight as when it firſt ſet ſail from St Helens. In ſhort, it required but little prudence ſo to have conducted this buſineſs, as to have rendered all the efforts of Spain, ſeconded by the power of France, ineffectual, and to have maintained our conqueſt in defiance of them both, whence they muſt either have reſolved to have left Great Britain miſtreſs of the wealth of South America, the principal ſupport of all their deſtructive projects) or they muſt have ſubmitted to her terms, and have been contented to receive theſe provinces back again, as an equivalent for ſuch reſtrictions to their future ambition, as ſhe, in her prudence, ſhould have dictated to them. Having thus diſ-

ſſed the prodigious weight which the operations our ſquadron might have added to the national fluence of this kingdom, I ſhall here end this cond book, referring to the next the paſſage of e ſcattered remains of our force acroſs the Paic ocean, and all their ſubſequent tranſactions, l the Commodore's arrival in England.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, &c.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The run from the coaſt of Mexico to the Ladrones or Marian iſlands.

WHEN, on the 6th of May 1742, we left the coaſt of America, we ſtood to the S. W. with a view of meeting the N. E. trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers taught us to expect at ſeventy or eighty leagues from the land; we had beſides another reaſon for ſtanding to the ſouthward, which was the getting into the latitude of 13° or 14° north, that being the parallel where the Pacific ocean is moſt uſually croſſed, and conſequently where the navigation is eſteemed the ſafeſt. This laſt purpoſe we had ſoon anſwered, being, in a day or two, ſufficiently advanced to the ſouth. But though we were, at the ſame time, more diſtant from the ſhore than we had preſumed was neceſſary for the falling in with the trade-wind, yet, in this particular, we were moſt grievouſly diſappointed, the wind ſtill continuing to the weſtward, or, at beſt, variable. As the getting into the N. E.

rade, was to us a matter of the laſt conſequence, we ſtood yet more to the ſouthward, and made many experiments to meet with it; but all our efforts were, for a long time, unſucceſsful; ſo that it was ſeven weeks, from our leaving the coaſt, before we got into the true trade-wind. This was an interval in which we had, at firſt, believed we ſhould well nigh have reached the eaſtermoſt parts of Aſia; but we were ſo baffled with the contrary and variable winds, which, for all that time, perplexed us, that we were not, as yet, advanced above a fourth of the way. The delay alone would have been a ſufficient mortification; but there were other circumſtances attending it, which rendered this ſituation not leſs terrible, and our apprehenſions, perhaps, ſtill greater than in any of our paſt calamities. For our two ſhips were, by this time, extremely crazy, and many days had not paſſed before we diſcovered a ſpring in the foremaſt of the Centurion, which rounded about twenty-ſix inches of its circumference, and which was judged to be, at leaſt, four inches deep. And no ſooner had the carpenters ſecured this maſt, with fiſching it, than the Glouceſter made a ſignal of diſtreſs, to inform us that ſhe had a ſpring in her main-maſt, twelve feet below the truſſel-trees, which appeared ſo dangerous that ſhe could not carry any ſail upon it. Our carpenters, on a ſtrict examination of this maſt, found it exceſſively rotten and decayed; and it being judged neceſſary to cut it down as low as it was defective, it was, by this means, reduced to nothing but a ſtump, which ſerved only as a ſtep to the top-maſt. Theſe accidents augmented our delay, and, being added to our other diſtreſſes, occaſioned as great anxiety about our future ſafety. For though, after our departure from Juan Fernandes, we had

enjoyed a moſt uninterrupted ſtate of health, till our leaving the coaſt of Mexico; yet the ſcurvy now began to make freſh havoc amongſt our people; and we too well knew the effects of this diſeaſe, by our former fatal experience; to ſuppoſe that any thing, except a ſpeedy paſſage, could ſecure the greater part of our crew from being deſtroyed thereby. But as, after being ſeven weeks at ſea, there did not appear any reaſons that could perſuade us we were nearer the trade-wind than when we ſet out: there was no ground for us to imagine, that our paſſage would not prove, at leaſt, three times as long as we at firſt expected; and conſequently we had the melancholy proſpect either of dying by the ſcurvy, or of periſhing with the ſhip for want of hands to navigate her. Indeed, ſeveral amongſt us were willing to believe, that, in this warm climate, ſo different from what we felt in paſſing round Cape Horn, the violence of this diſeaſe, and its fatality, might be, in ſome degree, mitigated, as it had not been unuſual to ſuppoſe, that its particular virulence, during that paſſage, was, in a great meaſure, owing to the ſeverity of the weather; but the ravage of the diſtemper, in our preſent circumſtances, ſoon convinced us of the falſity of this ſpeculation, as it likewiſe exploded certain other opinions which uſually paſs current about the cauſe and nature of this diſeaſe:

For it has been generally preſumed, that ſufficient ſupplies of water and of freſh proviſions are effectual preventives of this malady; but it happened that, in the preſent caſe, we had a conſiderable ſtock of freſh proviſions on board, being the hogs and fowls which were taken at Paita: we, beſides, almoſt daily caught great abundance of bonitoes, dolphins, and albicores; and the unſettled ſeaſon, which deprived us of

he benefit of the trade-wind, proved extremely ainy; ſo that we are enabled to fill up our wa-er caſks almoſt as faſt as they were empty; and ach man had five pints of water allowed him very day during the paſſage. But notwithſtand-ng this plenty of water, notwithſtanding that he freſh proviſions were diſtributed amongſt he ſick, and the whole crew often fed upon iſh; yet neither were the ſick hereby relieved, r the progreſs or malignity of the diſeaſe at all bated. Nor was it in theſe inſtances only that e found the general maxims upon this head de-ective: for though it has been uſually eſteemed neceſſary piece of management to keep all ips, where the crews are large, as clean and iry between decks as poſſible; and it hath been elieved by many, that this particular alone, if ell attended to, would prevent the appearance f the ſcurvy, or, at leaſt, mitigate its virulence; et we obſerved, during the latter part of our un, that though we kept all our ports open, and ook uncommon pains in cleanſing and ſweeten-ng the ſhips, the diſeaſe ſtill raged with as much iolence as ever; nor did its advancement ſeem o be thereby ſenſibly retarded.

However, I would not be underſtood to aſ-ert, that freſh proviſions, plenty of water, and conſtant ſupply of ſweet air between decks, re matters of no moment; I am, on the con-rary, well ſatisfied, that they are, all of them, rticles of great importance, and are, doubtleſs, xtremely conducive to the health and vigour of crew, and may, in many caſes, prevent this fa-al malady from taking place. All I have aimed t in what I have advanced, is only to evince, hat, in ſome inſtances, both the cure and pre-ention of this malady is impoſſible to be effected y any management, or by the application of any

remedies which can be made uſe of at ſea. Indeed, I am myſelf fully perſuaded, that when it has got to a certain head, there are no other means in nature for relieving the ſick but carrying them on ſhore, or, at leaſt, bringing them into the neighbourhood of the land. Perhaps a diſtinct and adequate knowledge of the ſource of this diſeaſe may never be diſcovered: but, in general, there is no difficulty in conceiving, that as a continued ſupply of freſh air is neceſſary to all animal life, and as this air is ſo particular a fluid, that, without loſing its elaſticity, or any of its obvious properties, it may be rendered unfit for this purpoſe, by the mixing with it ſome very ſubtle, and otherwiſe imperceptible effluvia: it may be eaſily conceived, I ſay, that the ſteams ariſing from the ocean may have a tendency to render the air they are ſpread through leſs properly adapted to the ſupport of the life of terreſtrial animals, unleſs theſe ſteams are corrected by effluvia of another kind, which, perhaps, the land alone can afford.

To what hath been already ſaid in relation to this diſeaſe, I ſhall add, that our ſurgeon (who, during our paſſage round Cape Horn, had aſcribed the mortality we ſuffered to the ſeverity of the climate) exerted himſelf in the preſent run to the utmoſt; but he at laſt declared that all his meaſures were totally ineffectual, and did not in the leaſt avail his patients. On this it was reſolved by the Commodore to try the ſucceſs of two medicines, which, juſt before his departure from England, were the ſubject of much diſcourſe, I mean the pill and drop of Mr Ward. For however violent the operations of theſe medicines are ſaid to have ſometimes proved, yet in the preſent inſtance, where, without ſome remedy, deſtruction ſeemed inc-

table, the experiment at leaſt was thought ad-
iſable; and therefore, one or both of them,
different times, were adminiſtered to perſons
every ſtage of the diſtemper. Out of the
umbers who took them, one, ſoon after ſwallow-
g the pill, was ſeized with a violent bleeding
the noſe; he was before given over by the
rgeon, and lay almoſt at the point of death;
ut he immediately found himſelf much better,
nd continued to recover, though ſlowly, till
e arrived on ſhore, which was near a fortnight
ſter. A few others too were relieved for ſome
ays, but the diſeaſe returned again with as much
rulence as ever; though neither did theſe, nor
e reſt, who received no benefit, appear to be
educed to a worſe condition than they would
ave been if they had taken nothing. The moſt
markable property of theſe medicines, and
hat was obvious in almoſt every one that took
em, was, that they acted in proportion to the
gour of the patient; ſo that thoſe who were
ithin two or three days of dying were ſcarcely
ſected; and as the patient was differently
dvanced in the diſeaſe, the operation was either
gentle perſpiration, an eaſy vomit, or a mode-
te purge; but if they were taken by one in full
rength, they then produced all the fore-men-
oned effects with conſiderable violence, which
metimes continued for ſix or eight hours toge-
er with little intermiſſion. However, let us
turn to the proſecution of our voyage.

I have already obſerved, that a few days after
ur running off the coaſt of Mexico, the Glouce-
er had her main-maſt cut down to a ſtump,
nd we were obliged to fiſh our fore-maſt; and
hat theſe misfortunes were greatly aggra-
ated by our meeting with contrary and variable
inds for near ſeven weeks: I ſhall now add,

that when we now reached the trade-wind, and it ſettled between the north and the eaſt, yet it ſeldom blew with ſo much ſtrength, that the Centurion might not have carried all her ſmall ſails abroad without the leaſt danger; ſo that, had we been a ſingle ſhip, we might have run down our longitude apace, and have arrived at the Ladrones ſoon enough to have recovered great numbers of our men, who afterwards periſhed; but the Glouceſter, by the loſs of her main-maſts, ſailed ſo very heavily, that we had ſeldom any more than our top-ſails ſet, and yet were frequently obliged to ly to for her; and I conceive, that, on the whole, we loſt little leſs than a month by our attendance upon her, in conſequence of the various miſchances ſhe encountered. During all this run it was remarkable, that we were rarely many days together without ſeeing great numbers of birds; which is a proof that there are ſeveral iſlands, or at leaſt rocks ſcattered all along, at no very conſiderable diſtance from our track. Some indeed there are marked in the Spaniſh chart hereafter inſerted; but the frequency of theſe birds ſeems to aſcertain, that there are many more than have been hitherto diſcovered: for the moſt part of the birds we obſerved were ſuch as are known to rooſt on ſhore; and the manner of their appearance ſufficiently evinced, that they came from ſome diſtant haunt every morning, and returned thither again in the evening, ſince we never ſaw them early or late; and the hour of their arrival and departure gradually varied, which, we ſuppoſed, was occaſioned by our running nearer their haunts, or getting farther from them.

The trade-wind continued to favour us, without any fluctuation, from the end of June, till towards the end of July. But on the 26th of Ju-

, being then, as we eſteemed, about three undred leagues from the Ladrones, we met ith a weſterly wind, which did not come about gain to the eaſtward in four days time. This as a moſt diſpiriting incident, as it at once amped all our hopes of ſpeedy relief; eſpecial- too, as it was attended with a vexatious acci- ent to the Glouceſter; for in one part of theſe our days the wind flatted to a calm, and the ips rolled very deep, by which means the louceſter's fore-cap ſplitting, her fore-top-maſt ame by the board, and broke her fore-yard di- ectly in the ſlings. As ſhe was hereby render- d incapable of making any ſail for ſome time, e were under a neceſſity, as ſoon as a gale prung up, to take her in tow; and near twenty f the healthieſt and ableſt of our ſeamen were emoved from the duty of our own ſhip, and ere continued eight or ten days together on oard the Glouceſter, to aſſiſt in repairing her amages: but theſe things, mortifying as we hought them, were only the commencement of ur diſaſters; for ſcarce had our people finiſhed heir buſineſs in the Glouceſter, before we met ith a moſt violent ſtorm from the weſtern board, hich obliged us to ly to. At the beginning of his ſtorm our ſhip ſprung a leak, and let in ſo uch water, that all our people, officers includ- d, were conſtantly employed about the pumps; nd the next day we had the vexation to ſee the louceſter with her fore-top-maſt once more by he board; nor was that the whole of her cala- nity, ſince, while we were viewing her with reat concern for this new diſtreſs, we ſaw her ain-top-maſt, which had hitherto ſerved her as jury-main-maſt, ſhare the ſame fate. This ompleated our misfortunes, and rendered them ithout reſource; for we knew the Glouceſter's

crew were ſo few and feeble, that, without
aſſiſtance, they could not be relieved; whil
at the ſame time, our ſick were now ſo far i
creaſed, and thoſe who remained in health
continually fatigued with the additional duty
our pumps, that it was impoſſible for us to le
them any aid. Indeed we were not, as yet, fu
ly apprized of the deplorable ſituation of th
Glouceſter's crew; for when the ſtorm abate
which, during its continuance, prevented all com
munication with them, the Glouceſter bore
under our ſtern, and Captain Mitchell informe
the Commodore, that beſides the loſs of his maſ
which was all that was viſible to us, the ſhi
had then no leſs than ſeven feet of water in he
hold, although his officers and men had bee
kept conſtantly at the pumps for the laſt twenty
four hours.

This new circumſtance was indeed a moſt ter
rible accumulation to the other extraordinary di
treſſes of the Glouceſter, and required, if poſſible,
the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous aſſiſtance, which
Captain Mitchell begged the Commodore to
afford him; but the debility of our people, and
our own immediate preſervation, rendered it
impracticable for the Commodore to comply
with his requeſt. All that could be done was to
ſend our boat on board for a more particular
account of the ſhip's condition, as it was ſoon
ſuſpected, that the taking of her people on
board us, and then deſtroying her, was the only
meaſure that could be proſecuted in the preſent
emergency, both for the ſecurity of their lives and
of our own.

Our boat ſoon returned with a repreſentation
of the ſtate of the Glouceſter, and of her ſeveral
defects, ſigned by Captain Mitchell and all his of-
ficers; whence it appeared that ſhe had ſprung

eak by the ſtern-poſt being looſe, and working th every roll of the ſhip, and by two beams a- d-ſhips being broken in the orlope, no part of hich, as the carpenters reported, could poſ- ly be repaired at ſea; that both officers and en had wrought twenty-four hours at the mp without intermiſſion, and were at length fatigued, that they could continue their la- ur no longer, but had been forced to deſiſt, ith ſeven feet of water in the hold, which co- red all their caſks, ſo that they could neither me at freſh water nor proviſion; that they had maſt ſtanding, except the fore-maſt, the mi- n-maſt, and the mizen-top-maſt, nor had they y ſpare maſts to get up in the room of thoſe ey had loſt: that the ſhip was beſides ex- emely decayed in every part; for her knees nd clamps were all become quite looſe, and her pper works, in general, were ſo crazy, that the uarter-deck was ready to drop down; that her rew was greatly reduced as there remained alive n board her, officers included, no more than venty-ſeven men, eighteen boys, and two pri- ners; and that of this whole number only ſix- en men and eleven boys were capable of keep- g deck, ſeveral of theſe too being very infirm.

The Commodore on the peruſal of this melan- holy repreſentation, preſently ordered them a upply of water and proviſions, of which they eemed to be in the moſt preſſing want; and at he ſame time, ſent his own carpenter, on board hem, to examine into the truth of every parti- ular; and it being found, on the ſtricteſt en- quiry, that the preceding account was in no in- ſtance exaggerated, it plainly appeared, there was no poſſibility of preſerving the Glouceſter a- y longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and he united hands on board both ſhips would not

be able to free her, could we have ſpared the whole of our crew to her relief. What then could be reſolved on, when it was the utmoſt we ourſelves could do to manage our own pumps? Indeed there was no room for deliberation; the only ſtep to be taken, was the ſaving the lives of the few that remained on board the Glouceſter, and the getting out of her as much as we could before ſhe was deſtroyed. The Commodore therefore immediately ſent an order to Captain Mitchell, to put his people on board the Centurion as expeditiouſly as he could, now the weather was calm and favourable, and to take out ſuch ſtores as he could get at whilſt the ſhip could be kept above water. And as our leak required leſs attention, whilſt the preſent calm weather continued, we ſent our boats with as many men as we could ſpare, to Captain Mitchell's aſſiſtance.

The removing the Glouceſter's people on board us, and the getting out ſuch ſtores as could moſt eaſily be come at, gave us full employment for two days. Mr Anſon was extremely deſirous to have ſaved two of her cables and an anchor; but the ſhip rolled ſo much, and the men were ſo exceſſively fatigued, that they were incapable of effecting it; nay, it was even with the greateſt difficulty that the prize-money, which the Glouceſter had taken in the South Seas, was ſecured and ſent on board the Centurion. However, the prize-goods in the Glouceſter, which amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds in value, and were principally the Centurion's property, were entirely loſt; nor could any more proviſion be got out than five caſks of flower, three of which were ſpoiled by the ſalt water. Their ſick men amounting to near ſeventy, were conveyed into the boats with as much care as the circumſtan-

s of that time would permit; but three or four them expired as they were hoiſting them into e Centurion.

It was the 15th of Auguſt, in the evening, be- e the Glouceſter was cleared of every thing at was propoſed to be removed; and though the ld was now almoſt full of water, yet, as the rpenters were of opinion that ſhe might ſtill im for ſome time, if the calm ſhould continue, d the water become ſmooth, it was reſolved ſhould be burnt, as we knew not how little ſtant we might be at the preſent from the iſland Guam, which was in the poſſeſſion of our emies, to whom the wreck of ſuch a ſhip would no contemptible acquiſition. When ſhe was on fire, Captain Mitchell and his officers left r, and came on board the Centurion; and we mediately ſtood from the wreck, not without me apprehenſions (as we had only a light eeze) that if ſhe blew up ſoon, the concuſſion the air might damage our rigging; but ſhe rtunately continued burning the whole night, that, though her guns fired ſucceſſively as the mes reached them, yet it was ſix in the orning, when we we were about four leagues di- nt before ſhe blew up. The report ſhe made on this occaſion was but ſmall, although the aſt produced an exceeding black pillar of oke, which ſhot up into the air to a very con- derable height.

Thus periſhed his Majeſty's ſhip the Glouce- er. And now, it might have been expected, at being freed from the embarraſſments which r frequent diſaſters had involved us in, we ould have proceeded on our way much briſker an we had hitherto done, eſpecially as we had ceived ſome ſmall addition to our ſtrength, by e taking on board the Glouceſter's crew.

However, we were ſoon taught, that our anxieties were not yet to be relieved; and that notwithſtanding all we had already ſuffered, there remained much greater diſtreſſes, which we were ſtill to ſtruggle with. For the late ſtorm, which had proved ſo fatal to the Glouceſter, had driven us to the northward of our intended courſe; and the current ſetting the ſame way, after the weather abated, had forced us yet a degree or two farther, ſo that we were now in 17° ½ of north latitude, inſtead of being in 13° ½, which was the parallel we propoſed to keep, in order to reach the iſland of Guam. As it had been a perfect calm for ſome days, ſince the ceſſation of the ſtorm, and we were ignorant how near we were to the meridian of the Ladrones, though we ſuppoſed ourſelves not to be far from it, we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without diſcovering them. On this ſuppoſition, the only land we could make would be ſome of the eaſtern parts of Aſia, where, if we could arrive, we ſhould find the weſtern monſoon in its full force, ſo that it would be impoſſible for the ſtouteſt beſt-manned ſhip to get in. Beſides, this coaſt being between four and five hundred leagues diſtant from us, we, in our languiſhing circumſtances, could expect no other than to be deſtroyed by the ſcurvy, long before the moſt favourable gale could enable us to compleat ſo extenſive a navigation. For our deaths were by this time extremely alarming, no day paſſing in which we did not bury eight or ten, and ſometimes twelve of our men; and thoſe who had as yet continued healthy began to fall down apace. Indeed we made the beſt uſe we could of our preſent calm by employing our carpenters in ſearching after the leak, which, notwithſtanding the little wind

e had, was now conſiderable. The carpen-
rs at length diſcovered it to be in the gunners
e ſtore-room, where the water ruſhed in un-
r the breaſt-hook, on each ſide of the ſtem;
t though they found where it was, they agreed
was impoſſible to ſtop it, till they could come
it on the outſide; which was evidently a mat-
not to be attempted till we ſhould arrive in
rt. However, they did the beſt they could
thin board, and were fortunate enough to re-
ce it, which was a conſiderable relief to us.
We hitherto conſidered the calm, which ſuc-
eded the ſtorm, and which had now continued
ſome days, as a very great misfortune, ſince
e currents were all the time driving us to the
rthward of our parallel, and we thereby riſked
e miſſing of the Ladrones, which we at preſent
nceived ourſelves to be very near. But when
gale ſprung up, our condition was ſtill worſe;
it blew from the S. W. and conſequently was
rectly oppoſed to the courſe we wanted to ſteer:
d though it ſoon veered to the N. E. yet this
ved only to tantalize us, as it returned back
ain in a very ſhort time to its old quarter.
owever, on the 22d of Auguſt, we had the ſa-
faction to find, that the current was ſhifted,
d had ſet us to the ſouthward. And the 23d,
day-break, we were cheered with the diſcove-
of two iſlands in the weſtern board. This
ve us all great joy, and raiſed our drooping ſpi-
s; for till then an univerſal dejection had
zed us, and we almoſt deſpaired of ever ſeeing
d again. The neareſt of theſe iſlands, as we
rned afterwards, was Anatacan; this we
dged to be full fifteen leagues from us; it
emed to be high land, though of an indifferent
ngth; the other was the iſland of Serigan,
hich had rather the appearance of a rock, than

of a place we could hope to anchor at. The view of theſe iſlands is inſerted at the top of the thirty-third plate. We were extremely impatient to get in with the neareſt iſland, where we expected to find an anchoring ground, and an opportunity of refreſhing our ſick; but the wind proved ſo variable all day, and there was ſo little of it, that we advanced towards it but ſlowly; however, by the next morning we were got ſo far to the weſtward, that we were in ſight of a third iſland, which was that of Paxaros, and which is marked in the chart only as a rock This was very ſmall, and the land low, ſo that we had paſſed within leſs than a mile of it in the night, without obſerving it. At noon, being then not four miles from the iſland of Anatacan, the boat was ſent away to examine the enchoring ground, and the produce of the place, and we were not a little ſolicitous for her return, as we conceived our fate to depend upon the report we ſhould receive: for the other two iſlands were obviouſly enough incapable of furniſhing us with any aſſiſtance, and we knew not that there were any beſides which we could reach. In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us that there was no road for a ſhip to anchor in, the bottom being every where foul ground, and all except one ſmall ſpot, not leſs than fifty fathom in depth; that on that ſpot there was thirty fathom, though not above half a mile from the ſhore; and that the bank was ſteep too, and could not be depended on. They farther told us, that they had landed on the iſland, not without ſome difficulty, on account of the greatneſs of the ſwell; that they found the ground was every where covered with a kind of wild cane or ruſh; but that they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited, though the ſoil was

wood, and abounded with groves of cocoa-nut trees.

The account of the impoſſibility of anchoring at this iſland, occaſioned a general melancholy on board; for we conſidered it as little leſs than the prelude to our deſtruction; and our deſpondency was increaſed by a diſappointment we met with the ſucceeding night; when, as we were lying under top-ſails, with an intention of getting nearer to the iſland, and of ſending our boat on ſhore to load with cocoa-nuts for the refreſhment of our ſick, the wind proved ſqually, and blew ſo ſtrong off ſhore, that we were driven too far to the ſouthward to venture to ſend off our boat. And now the only poſſible circumſtance that could ſecure the few which remained alive from periſhing, was the accidental falling in with ſome other of the Ladrone iſlands, better prepared for our accommodation; but as our knowledge of theſe iſlands was extremely imperfect, we were to truſt entirely to chance for our guidance; only as they are all of them uſually laid down near the ſame meridian, and we conceived thoſe we had already ſeen to be part of them, we concluded to ſtand to the ſouthward, as the moſt probable means of diſcovering the reſt. Thus, with the moſt gloomy perſuaſion of our approaching deſtruction, we ſtood from the iſland of Anatacan, having all of us the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions (and thoſe not ill grounded) either of dying by the ſcurvy, or of being deſtroyed with the ſhip, which, for want of hands to work her pumps, might in a ſhort time be expected to founder.

CHAP. II.

Our arrival at Tinian, and an account of the iſland, and of our proceedings there, till the Centurion drove out to ſea.

IT was the 26th of Auguſt 1742, in the morning, when we loſt ſight of the iſland of Anatacan, dreading that it was the laſt land we ſhould ever fix our eyes on. But the next morning we diſcovered three other iſlands to the eaſtward, which were between ten and fourteen leagues diſtant from us. Theſe were, as we afterwards learned, the iſlands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan. We immediately ſteered towards Tinian, which was the middlemoſt of the three; but we had ſo much of calms and light airs, that though we were helped forwards by the currents, yet on the morrow, at day-break, we had not advanced nearer than within five leagues of it. However, we kept on our courſe, and about ten o'clock we perceived a proa under ſail to the ſouthward, between Tinian and Aguigan. As we imagined from hence, that theſe iſlands were inhabited, and knew that the Spaniards had always a force at Guam, we took the neceſſary precautions for our own ſecurity, and endeavoured to prevent the enemy, as much as poſſible, from taking an advantage of our preſent wretched circumſtances, of which we feared they would be ſufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ſhip: we therefore muſtered all our hands who were capable of ſtanding to their arms, and loaded our upper and quarter-deck guns with grape ſhot; and that we might the more readily

procure ſome intelligence of the ſtate of theſe iſlands, we ſhowed Spaniſh colours, and hoiſted a red flag at the foretop-maſt-head, hoping thereby to give our ſhip the appearance of the Manila galeon, and to decoy ſome of the inhabitants on board us. Thus preparing ourſelves, and ſtanding towards the land, we were near enough at three in the afternoon, to ſend the cutter on ſhore to find out a proper birth for the ſhip; and we ſoon perceived that a proa put off from the iſland to meet the cutter, fully perſuaded, as we afterwards found, that we were the Manila ſhip. As we ſaw the cutter returning with the proa in tow, we inſtantly ſent the pinnace to receive the proa and the priſoners, and to bring them on board, that the cutter might proceed on her errand. The pinnace came back with a Spaniard and four Indians, which were the people taken in the proa; and the Spaniard being immediately examined as to the produce and circumſtances of this iſland of Tinian, his account of it ſurpaſſed even our moſt ſanguine hopes: for he informed us, that though it was uninhabited, (which in itſelf, conſidering our preſent defenceleſs condition, was a convenience not to be deſpiſed) yet it wanted but few of the accommodations that could be expected in the moſt cultivated country. In particular, he aſſured us that there was plenty of very good water, and that there were an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry, running wild on the iſland, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods afforded ſweet and ſour oranges, limes, lemons, and cocoa-nuts in great abundance, beſides a fruit peculiar to theſe iſlands, which ſerved inſtead of bread; that from the quantity and goodneſs of the proviſions produced here, the Spaniards at Guam made uſe of it as a ſtore for ſupplying the garriſon; and that

he himſelf was a ſerjeant of that garriſon, who was ſent hither with twenty-two Indians to jerk beef, which he was to load for Guam on board a ſmall bark of about fifteen ton, which lay at anchor near the ſhore.

This relation was received by us with inexpreſſible joy; part of it we were ourſelves able to verify on the ſpot, as we were, by this time, near enough to diſcover ſeveral numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the iſland; and we did not anywiſe doubt the reſt of his narration; ſince the appearance of the ſhore prejudiſed us ſo greatly in its favour, and made us hope, that not only our neceſſities might be there fully relieved, and our diſeaſed recovered, but that amidſt thoſe pleaſing ſcenes which were then in view, we might procure ourſelves ſome amuſement and relaxation, after the numerous fatigues we had undergone. For the proſpect of the country did by no means reſemble that of an uninhabited and uncultivated place, but had much more the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and ſtately woods had been laid out together with great ſkill, and where the whole had been ſo artfully combined, and ſo judiciouſly adapted to the ſlops of the hills, and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a moſt ſtriking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus, (an event not unlike what we had already ſeen) we were forced upon the moſt deſirable and ſalutary meaſures, by accidents which, at firſt ſight, we conſidered as the greateſt of misfortunes; for had we not been driven, by the contrary winds and currents, to the northward of our courſe (a circumſtance which, at that time, gave us the moſt terrible apprehenſions) we ſhould, in all probability, never have arrived at this delightful

iſland, and conſequently we ſhould have miſſed of that place, where alone all our wants could be moſt amply relieved, our ſick recovered, and our enfeebled crew once more refreſhed, and enabled to put again to ſea.

The Spaniſh ſerjeant, from whom we received the account of the iſland, having informed us that there were ſome Indians on ſhore under his command, employed in jerking beef, and that there was a bark at anchor to take it on board, we were deſirous, if poſſible, to prevent the Indians from eſcaping, ſince they would certainly have given the Governor of Guam intelligence of our arrival; we therefore immediately diſpatched the pinnace to ſecure the bark, as the ſerjeant told us that was the only embarkation on the place; and then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathom. But though it was almoſt calm, and whatever vigour and ſpirit was to be found on board, was doubtleſs exerted to the utmoſt on this pleaſing occaſion, when, after having kept the ſea for ſome months, we were going to take poſſeſſion of this little paradiſe, yet we were full five hours in furling our ſails. It is true we were ſomewhat weakened by the crews of the cutter and pinnace which were ſent on ſhore; but it is not leſs true, that, including thoſe abſent with the boats, and ſome negroes and Indian priſoners, all the hands we could muſter, capable of ſtanding at a gun, amounted to no more than ſeventy-one, moſt of which, too, were incapable of duty, except on the greateſt emergencies This, inconſiderable as it may appear, was the whole force we could collect, in our preſent enfeebled condition, from the united crews of the Centurion, the Glouceſter, and the

Tryal, which, when we departed from England, conſiſted all together, of near a thouſand hands.

When we had furled our ſails, our people were allowed to repoſe themſelves during the remainder of the night, to recover them from the fatigue they had undergone. But in the morning a party was ſent on ſhore well armed, of which I myſelf was one, to make ourſelves maſters of the landing-place, ſince we were not certain what oppoſition might be made by the Indians on the iſland. We landed, however, without difficulty; for the Indians having perceived, by our ſeizure of the bark the night before, that we were enemies, they immediately fled into the woody parts of the iſland. We found on ſhore many huts which they had inhabited, and which ſaved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents. One of theſe huts, which the Indians made uſe of for a ſtore-houſe, was very large, being twenty yards long, and fifteen broad. This we immediately cleared of ſome bales of jerked beef, which had been left in it, and converted it into an hoſpital for our ſick, who as ſoon as the place was ready to receive them, were brought on ſhore, being in all a hundred and twenty-eight. Numbers of theſe were ſo very helpleſs, that we were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hoſpital upon our ſhoulders, in which humane employment (as before at Juan Fernandes) the Commodore himſelf, and every one of his officers, were engaged without diſtinction; and notwithſtanding the extreme debility, and the dying aſpects of the greateſt part of our ſick, it is almoſt incredible how ſoon they began to feel the ſalutary influence of the land: for though we buried twenty-one men on this and the preceding day, yet we did not loſe above ten

nen more during the whole two months we ſtaid here; but our diſeaſed, in general, reaped ſo much benefit from the fruits of the iſland, particularly thoſe of the acid kind, that, in a week's time, there were but few of them who were not ſo far recovered, as to be able to move about without help.

Being now, in ſome ſort, eſtabliſhed at this place, we were enabled more diſtinctly to examine its qualities and productions; and that the reader may the better judge of our manner of life here, and future navigators be better appriſed of the conveniencies we met with, I ſhall, before I proceed any farther in the hiſtory of our own adventures, throw together the moſt intereſting particulars that came to our knowledge, relating to the ſituation, ſoil, produce, and accommodations of this iſland of Tinian.

This iſland lies in the latitude of 15°: 8′ north, and longitude from Acapulco, 114°: 50′ weſt: its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much, it extending from the S. S. W. to the N. N. E. The ſoil is every where dry and healthy, and being, withal, ſomewhat ſandy, it is thereby the leſs diſpoſed to a rank and over luxuriant vegetation; and hence the meadows and the bottoms of the woods are much greater and ſmoother than is cuſtomary in hot climates. The land roſe in gentle ſlopes from the very beach where we watered, to the middle of the iſland, though the general courſe of its aſcent was often interrupted by vallies of an eaſy deſcent, many of which wind irregularly through the country. Theſe vallies, and the gradual ſwellings of the ground, which their different combinations gave riſe to, were moſt beautifully diverſified by the mutual encroachments of woods and lawns which coaſted each other, and tra-

verſed the iſland in large tracts. The woods conſiſted of tall and well ſpread trees, the greateſt part of them celebrated either for their aſpect or their fruit; whilſt the lawns were uſually of a conſiderable breadth, their turf quite clean and uniform, it being compoſed of a very fine trefoil, which was intermixed with a variety of flowers. The woods, too, were in many places open, and free from all buſhes and underwood, ſo that they terminated on the lawns with a well defined outline, where neither ſhrubs nor weeds were to be ſeen: but the neatneſs of the adjacent turf was frequently extended to a conſiderable diſtance, under the hollow ſhade formed by the trees. Hence aroſe a great number of the moſt elegant and entertaining proſpects, according to the different blendings of theſe woods and lawns, and their various interſections with each other, as they ſpread themſelves differently through the vallies, and over the ſlopes and declivities in which the place abounded. Nor were the allurements of Tinian confined to the excellency of its landſcapes only; ſince the fortunate animals which, during the greateſt part of the year, are the ſole lords of this happy ſoil, partake, in ſome meaſure, of the romantic caſt of the iſland, and are no ſmall edition to its wonderful ſcenery; for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to ſee herds of ſome thouſands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the moſt remarkable in the world, as they are all of them milk white, except their ears, which are generally brown or black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domeſtic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the idea of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the chearfulneſs and

beauty of the place. The cattle on Tinian we computed were, at leaſt, ten thouſand: we had no difficulty in getting near them, for they were not at all ſhy of us. Our firſt method of killing them was ſhooting them; but, at laſt, when, by accidents to be hereafter recited, we were obliged to huſband our ammunition, our men ran them down with eaſe. Their fleſh was extremely well taſted, and was believed, by us, to be much more eaſily digeſted than any we had ever met with. The fowls, too, were exceeding good, and were likewiſe run down with little trouble; for they could ſcarce fly further than a hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them to ſuch a degree, that they could not readily riſe again; ſo that, aided by the openneſs of the woods, we could at all times furniſh ourſelves with whatever number we wanted. Beſides the cattle and the poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs: theſe were moſt excellent food; but as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged either to ſhoot them, or to hunt them with large dogs, which we found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to the detachment which was then upon the iſland, amaſſing proviſions for the garriſon of Guam. As theſe dogs had been purpoſely trained to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us; but though they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with ſo much fury, that they frequently deſtroyed them, whence we by degrees, loſt the greateſt part of them.

This place was not only extremely grateful to us, from the plenty and excellency of its freſh proviſions, but was as much, perhaps, to be admired on account of its fruits and vegetable productions, which were moſt fortunately adapted

to the cure of the ſea-ſcurvy, the diſeaſe which had ſo terribly reduced us. For in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of cocoa-nuts, with cabbages growing in the ſame tree There were, beſides, guavoes, limes, ſweet and ſour oranges, and a kind of fruit peculiar to thoſe iſlands, called by the Indians Rhymay, but by us the bread fruit for it was conſtantly eaten by us, during our ſtay upon the iſland, inſtead of bread, and ſo univerſally preferred to it, that no ſhip's bread was expended in that whole interval. It grew upon a tree which is ſomewhat lofty, and which towards the top, divides into large and ſpreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itſelf is found indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in ſhape rather eliptical than round; it is covered with a rough rhind, and is uſually ſeven or eight inches long: each of them grows ſingly and not in cluſters. This fruit is fitteſt to be uſed when it is full grown, but ſtill green; in which ſtate, after it is properly prepared, by being roaſted in the embers, its taſte has ſome diſtant reſemblance to that of an artichoke's bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is ſoft and ſpongy. As it ripens, it becomes ſofter, and of a yellow colour, when it contracts a lucious taſte, and an agreeable ſmell, not unlike a ripe peach; but then it it is eſteemed unwholeſome, and is ſaid to produce fluxes. I ſhall only add, that it is deſcribed both by Dampier, and in Ray's hiſtory of plants: and that in the view of the watering place, plate XXXIVth, there is drawn one of the trees bearing this fruit, being that marked with the letter (*c*.) Beſides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables ex-

tremely conduſive to the cure of the malady we had long laboured under, ſuch as water-melons, dandelion, creeping-purſlain, mint, ſcurvy-graſs, and ſorrel; all which, together with the freſh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerneſs, prompted thereto by the ſtrong inclination which, in ſcorbutic diſorders, nature never fails of exciting for thoſe powerful ſpecifics.

It will eaſily be conceived, from what hath been already ſaid, that our chear upon this iſland was in ſome degree luxurious; but I have not yet recited all the varieties of proviſion which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abſtain from fiſh, the few we caught at our firſt arrival having ſurfeited thoſe who ate of them; but, conſidering how much we had been inured to that ſpecies of food, we did not regard this circumſtance as a diſadvantage, eſpecially as the defect was ſo amply ſupplied by the beef, pork, and fowls already mentioned, and by great plenty of wild fowl; for it is to be remembered, that near the centre of this iſland there were two conſiderable pieces of freſh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlew; not to mention the whiſtling plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty.

It may now, perhaps, be wondered at, that an iſland ſo exquiſitely furniſhed with the conveniencies of life, and ſo well adapted not only to the ſubſiſtence, but likewiſe to the enjoyment of mankind, ſhould be entirely deſtitute of inhabitants, eſpecially as it in the neighbourhood of other iſlands, which, in ſome meaſure, depended upon this for their ſupport. To obviate this difficulty, I muſt obſerve that it is not fifty years ſince the iſland was depopulated The Indians we had in our cuſtody aſſured us, that formerly

the three iſlands of Tinian, Rota, and Guam, were all full of inhabitants, and that Tinian alone contained thirty thouſand ſouls; but a ſickneſs raging amongſt theſe iſlands, which deſtroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were extremely diminiſhed by the mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither, where, languiſhing for their former habitations, and their cuſtomary method of life, the greateſt part of them in a few years, died of grief. Indeed, independent of that attachment which all mankind have ever ſhown to the places of their birth and bringing up, it ſhould ſeem, from what has been already ſaid, that there were few countries more worthy to be regretted than this of Tinian.

Theſe poor Indians might reaſonably have expected, at the great diſtance from Spain where they were placed, to have eſcaped the violence and cruelty of that haughty nation, ſo fatal to a large proportion of the whole human race; but it ſeems their remote ſituation could not protect them from ſharing in the common deſtruction of the weſtern world; all the advantage they received from their diſtance, being only to periſh an age or two later. It may, perhaps, be doubted, if the number of the inhabitants of Tinian, who were baniſhed to Guam, and who died there pining for their native home, was ſo conſiderable as what we have related above; but, not to mention the concurrent aſſertion of our priſoners, and the commodiouſneſs of the iſland, and its great fertility, there are ſtill remains to be met with on the place, which ſhow it to have been once extremely populous. For there are, in all part of the iſland, many ruins of a very particular kind; theſe uſually conſiſt of two rows of ſquare pyramidal pillars, each pillar be-

ng about six feet from the next, and the distance between the rows being about twelve feet; the pillars themselves are about five feet square at the base, and about thirteen feet high; and on the top of each of them there is a semi-globe, with the flat surface upwards; the whole of the pillars and semi-globe is solid, being composed of mud and stone cemented together, and plaistered over. This odd fabrick will be better understood, by inspecting the view of the watering-place already referred to; where an assemblage of these pillars is drawn, and is denoted by the letter (*a.*) If the account our prisoners gave us of these structures was true, the island must indeed have been most extraordinary well peopled; since they assured us, that they were the foundations of particular buildings set apart for those Indians only who had engaged in some religious vow, monastic institutions being often to be met with in many Pagan nations. However, if these ruins were originally the basis of the common dwelling-houses of the natives, their numbers must have been considerable; for in many parts of the island they are extremely thick planted, and sufficiently evince the great plenty of its former inhabitants. But to return to the present state of the island:

Having briefly recounted the conveniencies of this place, the excellency and quantity of its fruits and provisions, the neatness of its lawns, the statelines, freshness, and fragrance of its woods, the happy inequality of its surface, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded; I must now observe, that all these advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthiness of its climate, by the almost constant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent showers which fell there; for these, instead of the heavy conti

nued rains which in ſome countries render great part of the year ſo unpleaſing, were uſually of a very ſhort and almoſt momentary duration. Hence they were extremely grateful and refreſhing, and were, perhaps, one cauſe of the ſalubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was obſerved to have upon us, in increaſing and invigorating our appetites and digeſtion. This effect was indeed remarkable, ſince thoſe among our officers, who were at all other times ſpare and temperate eaters, who, beſides a ſlight breakfaſt, uſed to make but one moderate repaſt a day, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons; for inſtead of one reaſonable fleſh-meal, they were now ſcarcely ſatisfied with three, each of them, too, ſo prodigious in quantity, as would, at another time, have produced a fever or a ſurfeit; and yet our digeſtion ſo well correſponded to the keenneſs of our appetites, that we were neither diſordered, nor even loaded by this uncommon repletion; for after having, according to the cuſtom of the iſland, made a large beef breakfaſt, it was not long before we began to conſider the approach of dinner as a very deſirable, though ſomewhat tardy, incident.

After giving theſe large encomiums to this iſland, in which, however, I conceive, I have not done it juſtice; it is neceſſary I ſhould ſpeak of thoſe circumſtances in which it is defective, whether in point of beauty or utility. And, firſt, with reſpect to its water, I muſt own, that before I had ſeen this ſpot, I did not conceive that the abſence of running water, of which it is entirely deſtitute, could have been ſo well replaced by any other means as it is in this iſland; ſince, though there are no ſtreams, yet the water of the wells and ſprings, which are to be met with every where near the ſurface, is extremely good;

and in the midſt of the iſland there are two or three conſiderable pieces of excellent water, the turf of whoſe banks was as clean, as even, and as regularly diſpoſed, as if they had been ſons purpoſely made for the decoration of the place. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that, with regard to the beauty of the proſpects, the want of rills and ſtreams is a very great defect, not to be compenſated either by large pieces of ſtanding water, or by the neighbourhood of the ſea, though that, from the ſmallneſs of the iſland, generally makes a part of every extenſive landſcape.

As to the reſidence upon the iſland, the principal inconvenience attending it is the vaſt number of muſcatoes, and various other ſpecies of flies, together with an inſect called a tick; this, though principally attached to the cattle, would yet frequently faſten upon our limbs and bodies, and, if not perceived and removed in time, would bury its head under the ſkin, and raiſe a painful inflammation. We found here, too, centipedes and ſcorpions, which we ſuppoſed were venemous, though none of us ever received any injury from them.

But the moſt important and formidable exception to this place remains ſtill to be told. This is the inconvenience of the road, and the little ſecurity there is, in ſome ſeaſons, for a ſhip at anchor. The only proper anchoring-place, for ſhips of burden, is at the S. W. end of the iſland. As a direction for readily finding it, there is, in the XXXVth plate, a very accurate view of the S. W. ſide of the iſland, where (*a*) is the peak of Saypan, ſeen over the northern part of Tinian, and bearing N. N. E. ½ E. and (*b*) is the anchoring-place, diſtant eight miles from the obſerver. And, as an additional

aſſiſtance, there is alſo added, in the XXXVIth plate, a near view of the anchoring place itſelf, which repreſents it ſo exactly, that none can poſſibly miſtake it. Here the Centurion anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathom water, about a mile and an half diſtant from the ſhore, oppoſite to a ſandy bay. The bottom of this road is full of ſharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, render it a very unſafe anchorage. This is the ſeaſon of the weſtern monſoons, when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is uſually variable all round the compaſs, and ſeldom fails to blow with ſuch fury, that the ſtouteſt cables are not to be confided in: what adds to the danger at theſe times, is the exceſſive rapidity of the tide of flood, which ſets to the S. E. between this iſland and that of Aguiguan, a ſmall iſlet near the ſouthern extremity of Tinian, which is repreſented in the general chart, hereafter inſerted, only by a dot. This tide runs, at firſt, with a vaſt head and overfall of water, occaſioning ſuch a hollow and overgrown ſea, as is ſcarcely to be conceived; ſo that (as will be more particularly recited in the ſequel) we were under the dreadful apprehenſions of being pooped by it, though we were in a ſixty gun ſhip. In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of October to the middle of June, there is a conſtant ſeaſon of ſettled weather; when, if the cables are but well armed, there is ſcarcely any danger of their being even rubbed; ſo that, during all that interval, it is as ſecure a road as could be wiſhed for. I ſhall only add, that the anchoring bank is very ſhelving, and ſtretches along the S. W. end of the iſland, and

is entirely free from ſhoals, except a reef of rocks which is viſible, and lies about half a mile from the ſhore, affording a narrow paſſage into a ſmall ſandy bay, which is the only place where boats can poſſibly land. Having given this account of the iſland, and its produce, it is neceſſary to return to our own hiſtory.

Our firſt undertaking after our arrival, was the removal of our ſick on ſhore, as hath been related. Whilſt we were thus employed, four of the Indians on the iſland, being part of the Spaniſh ſerjeant's detachment, came and ſurrendered themſelves to us, ſo that, with thoſe we took in the proa, we had now eight of them in our cuſtody. One of the four who ſubmitted, undertook to ſhow us the moſt convenient places for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that ſervice; but one of them unwarily truſting the Indian with his firelock and piſtol, the Indian eſcaped with them into the woods. His countrymen who remained behind were apprehenſive of ſuffering for this perfidy of their comrade; and therefore begged leave to ſend one of their own party into the country, who they engaged ſhould both bring back the arms, and perſuade the whole detachment from Guam to ſubmit to us The Commodore granted their requeſt, and one of them was diſpatched on this errand, who returned next day, and brought back the firelock and piſtol, but aſſured us he had found them in a pathway in the wood, and proteſted, that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen. This report had ſo little the air of truth, that we ſuſpected there was ſome treachery carrying on; and therefore, to prevent any future communication amongſt them, we immediately ordered all the Indians, who were in our power,

on board the ſhip, and did not permit them to go any more on ſhore.

When our ſick were well ſettled on the iſland, we employed all the hands that could be ſpared from attending them, in arming the cables with a good rounding, ſeveral fathom from the anchor, to ſecure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks, which here abounded. This being compleated, our next occupation was our leak, and, in order to raiſe it out of the water, we on the firſt of September began to get the guns aft, to bring the ſhip by the ſtern; and now the carpenters being able to come at it on the outſide, they ripped off what was left of the old ſheathing, caulked all the ſeams on both ſides the cutwater, and leaded them over, and then new-ſheathed the bows to the ſurface of the water. By this means we conceived the defect was ſufficiently ſecured; but, upon our beginning to return the guns to their ports, we had the mortification to perceive, that the water ruſhed into the ſhip in the old place, with as much violence as ever. Hereupon we were neceſſitated to begin again: and that our ſecond attempt might be more ſucceſsful, we cleared the fore ſtore-room, and ſent a hundred and thirty barrels of powder on board the ſmall Spaniſh bark we had ſeized here, by which means we raiſed the ſhip about three feet out of the water forwards. The carpenters now ripped off the ſheathing lower down, new-caulked all the ſeams, and afterwards laid on new ſheathing; and then, ſuppoſing the leak to be effectually ſtopped, we began to move the guns forwards; but the upperdeck guns were ſcarcely replaced, when, to our amazement, it burſt out again. As we durſt not cut away the lining within board, leſt a but-end or a plank might ſtart, and we might go down immediately, we

had no other reſource left than chincing and caulking within board. Indeed, by this means, the leak was ſtopped for ſome time; but when our guns were all fixed in their ports, and our ſtores were taken on board, the water again forced its way through a hole in the ſtem, where one of the bolts was driven in: we, on this, deſiſted from all farther efforts, being at laſt well aſſured that the defect was in the ſtem itſelf, and that it was not to be remedied till we ſhould have an opportunity of heaving down.

In the firſt part of the month of September, ſeveral of our ſick were tolerably recovered by their reſidence on ſhore; and, on the 12th of September, all thoſe who were ſo far relieved, ſince their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty, were ſent on board the ſhip; and then the Commodore, who was himſelf ill of the ſcurvy, had a tent erected for him on ſhore, where he went with the view of ſtaying a few days to eſtabliſh his health, being convinced, by the general experience of his people, that no other method but living on the land was to be truſted to for the removal of this dreadful malady. The place where his tent was pitched on this occaſion, was near the well whence we got all our water, and was indeed a moſt elegant ſpot. A view of it hath been already referred to, under the title of the watering place, where (*b*) is the Commodore's tent, and (*d*) the well we watered at.

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the iſland, we began to ſend our caſks on ſhore to be fitted up, which, till this time, could not be done, for the coopers were not well enough to work. We likewiſe weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which, we ſuſpected, had, by this time, received conſiderable damage. And

as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the Commodore, for our greater ſecurity, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire grapnels; beſides which, they were cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and ſeven fathom from the ſervice, with a good rounding of a $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch hauſer; and, being perſuaded that the dangers of this road demanded our utmoſt foreſight, we to all theſe precautions, added that of lowering the main and fore-yard cloſe down, that, in caſe of blowing weather, the wind might have leſs power upon the ſhip to make her ride a ſtrain.

Thus effectually prepared, as we conceived, we waited till the new moon which was the 18th of September, when, riding ſafe that and the three ſucceeding days, (though the weather proved very ſqually, and uncertain) we flattered ourſelves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our meaſures had ſecured us from all accidents; but on the 22d, the wind blew from the eaſtward with ſuch fury, that we ſoon deſpaired of riding out of the ſtorm. In this conjuncture we ſhould have been extremely glad that the Commodore, and the reſt of our people on ſhore, which were the greateſt part of our hands, had been on board us, ſince our only hopes of ſafety ſeemed to depend on our putting immediately to ſea; but all communication with the ſhore was now abſolutely cut off, for there was no poſſibility that a boat could live, ſo that we were neceſſitated to ride it out till our cables parted. Indeed, we were not long expecting this dreadful event, for the ſmall bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ſhip ſwung off to the beſt bower; and as the night came on, the violence of the wind ſtill increaſed; though, notwithſtanding its inex-

reſſible fury, the tide ran with ſo much rapidi-
y as to prevail over it; for the tide, which ſet
o the northward at the beginning of the hurri-
ane, turning ſuddenly to the ſouthward, about
ix in the evening, forced the ſhip before it, in
eſpight of the ſtorm, which blew upon the beam.
The ſea now broke moſt ſurpriſingly all round us,
nd a large tumbling ſwell threatened to poop us;
y which the long-boat at this time moored a-
tern, was on a ſudden canted ſo high, that it
roke the tranſon of the Commodore's gallery,
hoſe cabin was on the quarter-deck, and would
oubtleſs have riſen as high as the taffarel, had
t not been for the ſtroke which ſtove the boat all to
ieces; and yet the poor boat-keeper, though
xtremely bruiſed, was ſaved almoſt by a miracle.
About eight the tide ſlackened, but the wind not
bating, the beſt bower cable by which alone we
ode, parted at eleven. Our ſheet-anchor, which
as the only one we had left, was inſtantly cut
rom the bow; but before it could reach the
ottom, we were driven from twenty-two into
hirty-five fathom; and after we had veered a-
way one whole cable, and two thirds of another,
we could not find ground with ſixty fathom of
ine. This was a plain indication, that the an-
chor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not
old us long. In this preſſing danger, Mr Sau-
marez, our firſt Lietenant, who now commanded
n board, ordered ſeveral guns to be fired, and
ights to be ſhown, as a ſignal to the Commo-
ore of our diſtreſs; and, in a ſhort time after,
t being then about one o'clock, and the night
xceſſively dark, a ſtrong guſt attended with rain
nd lightning, drove us off the bank, and forced
us out to ſea, leaving behind us on the iſland Mr
Anſon, with many more of our officers, and a
great part of our crew, amounting, in the whole,

to a hundred and thirteen perſons. Thus were we all, both at ſea and on ſhore, reduced to the utmoſt deſpair by this cataſtrophe; thoſe on ſhore conceiving they had no means left them ever to depart out of the iſland, whilſt we on board, being utterly unprepared to ſtruggle with the fury of the ſeas and winds we were now expoſed to, expected each moment to be our laſt.

CHAP. III.

Tranſactions at Tinian after the departure of the Centurion.

THE ſtorm which drove the Centurion to ſea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the Commodore, or any of the people on ſhore, to hear the guns which ſhe fired as ſignals of diſtreſs; and the frequent glare of the lightening had prevented the exploſions from being obſerved: ſo that when at day-break it was perceived from the ſhore that the ſhip was miſſing there was the utmoſt conſternation amongſt them; for much the greateſt part of them immediately concluded that ſhe was loſt, and intreated the Commodore that the boat might be ſent round the iſland to look after the wreck; and thoſe who believed her ſafe, had ſcarcely any expectation that ſhe would ever be able to make the iſland again, ſince the wind continued to blow ſtrong at eaſt, and they well knew how poorly ſhe was manned and provided for ſtruggling with ſo tempeſtuous a gale: in either of theſe views her ſituation was indeed moſt deplorable; for if the Centurion was loſt, or ſhould be incapable

of returning, there appeared no poſſibility of their ever getting off the iſland, as they were at leaſt ſix hundred leagues from Macao, which was their neareſt port; and they were maſters of no other veſſel than the ſmall Spaniſh bark of about fifteen ton, ſeized at their arrival, which would not even hold a fourth part of their number. And the chance of their being taken off the iſland by the caſual arrival of any other ſhip, was altogether deſperate; as perhaps no European ſhip had ever anchored here before, and it were madneſs to expect that like incidents ſhould ſend another here in an hundred ages to come: ſo that their deſponding thoughts could only ſuggeſt to them the melancholy proſpect of ſpending the remainder of their days on this iſland, and bidding adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domeſtic endearments.

Nor was this the worſt they had to fear: for they had reaſon to apprehend, that the governor of Guam, when he ſhould be informed of their circumſtances, might ſend a force ſufficient to over-power them, and to remove them to that iſland; and then the moſt favourable treatment they could expect would be, to be detained priſoners during life; ſince, from the known policy and cruelty of the Spaniards in their diſtant ſettlements, it was rather to be ſuppoſed that the governor, if he once had them in his power would make their want of commiſſions (all of them being on board the Centurion) a pretext for treating them as pyrates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.

In the midſt of theſe gloomy reflections, Mr Anſon, though he always kept up his uſual compoſure and ſteadineſs, had doubtleſs his ſhare of diſquietude. However, having ſoon project-

ed a ſcheme for extricating himſelf and his men from their preſent anxious ſituation, he firſt communicated it to ſome of the moſt intelligent perſons about him; and having ſatisfied himſelf that it was practicable, he then endeavoured to animate his people to a ſteady and vigorous proſecution of it. With this view he repreſented to them, how little foundation there was for their apprehenſions of the Centurion's being loſt: that he ſhould have preſumed they had been all of them better acquainted with ſea-affairs, than to give way to the impreſſion of ſo chimerical a fright: that he doubted not but, if they would ſeriouſly conſider what ſuch a ſhip was capable of enduring, they would confeſs there was not the leaſt probability of her having periſhed: that he was not without hopes that ſhe might return in a few days; but, if ſhe did not, the worſt that could be imagined was, that ſhe was driven ſo far to the leeward of the iſland that ſhe could not regain it, and that ſhe would conſequently be obliged to bear away for Macao on the coaſt of China: that as it was neceſſary to be prepared againſt all events, he had in this caſe conſidered of a method of carrying them off the iſland, and of joining their old ſhip, the Centurion, again at Macao: that this method was, to hale the Spaniſh bark on ſhore, to ſaw her aſunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty ton burden, and would enable her to carry them all to China: that he had conſulted the carpenters, and they had agreed that this propoſal was very feaſible, and that nothing was wanting to execute it but the united reſolution and induſtry of the whole body: and having added, that for his own part, he would ſhare the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than what he, the

Commodore himſelf, was ready to ſubmit to, he concluded with repreſenting the importance of ſaving time; urging that, in order to be the better ſecured at all events, it was expedient to ſet about the work immediately, and to take it for granted that the Centurion would not be able to put back (which was indeed the Commodore's ſecret opinion) ſince, if ſhe did return, they ſhould only throw away a few days application; but if ſhe did not, their ſituation and the ſeaſon of the year, required their utmoſt diſpatch.

Theſe remonſtrances, though not without effect, did not at firſt operate ſo powerfully as Mr Anſon could have wiſhed: he indeed raiſed their ſpirits, by ſhowing them the poſſibility of their getting away, of which they had before deſpaired; but then from their confidence in this reſource, they grew leſs apprehenſive of their ſituation, gave a greater ſcope to their hopes, and flattered themſelves that the Centurion would be able to regain the iſland and prevent the execution of the Commodore's ſcheme, which they could eaſily foreſee would be a work of conſiderable labour: hence it was ſome days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project; but at laſt being convinced of the impoſſibility of the ſhip's return, they betook themſelves zealouſly to the different taſks allotted them, and were as induſtrious and as eager as their commander could deſire, punctually aſſembling by day-break at the rendezvous, whence they were diſtributed to their different employments, which they followed with unuſual vigour till night came on.

And here I muſt interrupt the courſe of this tranſaction, to relate an incident which for a ſhort time gave Mr Anſon more concern than all the preceding diſaſters. A few days after the

ſhip was driven off, ſome of the people on ſhore cried out, *A ſail!* This ſpread a general joy, every one ſuppoſing that it was the ſhip returning; but preſently a ſecond ſail was deſcried, which quite deſtroyed their firſt conjecture, and made it difficult to gueſs what they were. The Commodore eagerly turned his glaſs towards them, and ſaw they were two boats; on which it immediately occured to him, that the Centurion was gone to the bottom, and that theſe were her two boats coming back with the remains of her people; and this ſudden and unexpected ſuggeſtion wrought on him ſo powerfully, that to conceal his emotion, he was obliged (without ſpeaking to any one) inſtantly to retire to his tent, where he paſſed ſome bitter moments, in the firm belief that the ſhip was loſt, and that now all his views of farther diſtreſſing the enemy, and of ſtill ſignalizing his expedition by ſome important exploit, were at an end.

However, he was ſoon relieved from theſe diſturbing thoughts, by diſcovering that the two boats in the offing were Indian proas; and perceiving that they made towards the ſhore, he directed every appearance that could give them any ſuſpicion, to be removed, concealing his people in the adjacent thickets, ready to ſecure the Indians when they ſhould land; but after the proas had ſtood in within a quarter of a mile of the beach; they ſuddenly ſtopped ſhort, and remaining there motionleſs for near two hours, they then got under ſail again, and ſteered to the ſouthward. Let us now return to the projected enlargement of the bark.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, on which their ſafety depended, we ſhall find, that independent of other matters which were of as much

conſequence, the lengthening of the bark alone was attended with great difficulty. Indeed, in a proper place, where all the neceſſary materials and tools were to be had, the embarraſſment would have been much leſs; but ſome of theſe tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting; and it required no ſmall degree of invention to ſupply all theſe deficiencies. And when the hull of the bark ſhould be completed, this was but one article; and there were others of equal weight which were to be well conſidered; theſe were the rigging it, the victualling it, and laſtly, the navigating it, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven hundred leagues, through unknown ſeas, where no one of the company had ever paſſed before; and in theſe particulars ſuch obſtacles occurred, that without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected accidents, the poſſibility of the whole enterpriſe would have fallen to the ground, and their utmoſt induſtry and efforts muſt have been fruitleſs. Of all theſe circumſtances I ſhall make a ſhort recital.

It fortunately happened that the carpenters, both of the Glouceſter and of the Tryal, with their cheſts of tools, were on ſhore when the ſhip drove out to ſea; the ſmith too was on ſhore, and had with him his forge and ſeveral of his tools, but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board; ſo that he was incapable of working, and without his aſſiſtance they could not hope to proceed with their deſign. Their firſt attention therefore was to make him a pair of bellows, but in this they were for ſome time puzzled by their want of leather; however, as they had hides in ſufficient plenty, and they had found a hogſhead of lime, which the Indians or Spaniards had prepared for their own uſe, they

tanned a few hides with this lime; and though we may ſuppoſe the workmanſhip to be but indifferent, yet the leather they thus procured anſwered the intention tolerably well, and the bellows, to which a gun-barrel ſerved for a pipe, had no other inconvenience, than that of being ſomewhat ſtrong ſcented from the imperfection of the tanner's work.

Whilſt the ſmith was preparing the neceſſary iron-work, others were employed in cutting down trees, and ſawing them into planks; and this being the moſt laborious taſk, the Commodore wrought at it himſelf, for the encouragement of his people. But there being neither blocks nor cordage ſufficient for tackles to haul the bark on ſhore, this occaſioned a new difficulty; however, it was at length reſolved to get her up on rollers, ſince for theſe, the body of the cocoa nut tree was extremely well fitted, as its ſmoothneſs and circular turn prevented much labour, and ſuited it to the purpoſe with very little workmanſhip. A number of theſe trees were therefore felled, and the ends of them properly opened for the inſertion of handſpikes; and in the mean time, a dry dock was dug to receive the bark, and ways were laid from thence quite into the ſea, to facilitate the bringing her up Neither were theſe the whole of their occupations, ſince, beſides thoſe who were thus buſied in preparing meaſures towards the future enlargement of the bark, a party was conſtantly ordered to kill and provide proviſions for the reſt. And though, in theſe various employments, ſome of which demanded conſiderable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confuſion and delay, yet good order being once eſtabliſhed, and all hands engaged, their preparations advanced apace. Indeed the common men

I preſume, were not the leſs tractable for their want of ſpirituous liquors: for their being neither wine nor brandy on ſhore, the juice of the cocoa-nut was their conſtant drink; and this, though extremely pleaſant, was not at all intoxicating, but kept them very temperate and orderly.

The main work now proceeding ſucceſsfully, the officers began to conſider of all the articles which would be neceſſary to the fitting out the bark for the ſea. On this conſultation it was found, that the tents on ſhore, and the ſpare cordage accidentally left there by the Centurion, together with the ſails and rigging already belonging to the bark, would ſerve to rig her indifferently well when ſhe was lengthened. And as they had tallow in plenty, they propoſed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which it was known was not ill adapted to that purpoſe; ſo that with reſpect to her equipment, ſhe would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception, which would have proved extremely inconvenient, and that was her ſize: for as they could not make her quite forty ton burden, ſhe would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and ſhe would have been ſo top-heavy, that if they were all at the ſame time ordered upon deck, there would be no ſmall hazard of her overſetting; but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the ſize already propoſed. After the manner of rigging and fitting up the bark was conſidered and regulated, the next eſſential point to be thought on, was how to procure a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions for their voyage; and here they were greatly at a loſs what expedient to have recourſe to, as they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on ſhore, their bread fruit, which

would not keep at ſea, having all along ſupplied its place; and though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no ſalt to cure beef for a ſea ſtore, nor would meat take ſalt in that climate. Indeed they had preſerved a ſmall quantity of jerked beef, which they found upon the place at their landing; but this was greatly diſproportioned to the run of near ſix hundred leagues, which they were to engage in, and to the number of hands they ſhould have on board. It was at laſt however reſolved to put on board as many cocoa-nuts as they poſſibly could, to prolong to the utmoſt their jerked beef, by a very ſparing diſtribution of it, and to endeavour to ſupply their want of bread by rice; to furniſh themſelves with which it was propoſed, when the bark was fitted up, to make an expedition to the iſland of Rota, where they were told that the Spaniards had large plantations of rice under the care of the Indian inhabitants; but as this laſt meaſure was to be executed by force, it became neceſſary to examine what ammunition had been left on ſhore, and to preſerve it carefully; and on this enquiry they had the mortification to find, that their fire-locks would be of little ſervice to them, ſince all the powder that could be collected by the ſtricteſt ſearch, did not amount to more than ninety charges, which was conſiderably ſhort of one a piece to each of the company, and was indeed a very ſlender ſtock of ammunition for ſuch as were to ate no grain or bread during a whole month, except what they were to procure by force of arms.

But the moſt alarming circumſtance, and which, without the providential interpoſition of very improbable events, would have rendered all their ſchemes abortive, remains yet to be related. The general idea of the fabric and equipment of

the veſſel was ſettled in a few days: and this being done, it was not difficult to frame ſome eſtimation of the time neceſſary to compleat her. After this it was natural to expect that the officers would conſider the courſe they were to ſteer and the land they were to make. Theſe reflections led them to the diſheartening diſcovery that there was neither compaſs nor quadrant on the iſland. Indeed the Commodore had brought a pocket compaſs on ſhore for his own uſe; but Lieutenant Brett had borrowed it to determine the poſition of the neighbouring iſlands, and he had been driven to ſea in the Centurion without returning it. And as to a quadrant, that could not be expected to be found on ſhore, ſince, as it was of no uſe at land, there could be no reaſon for bringing it from on board the ſhip. There were now eight days elapſed ſince the departure of the Centurion, and yet they were not in any degree relieved from this terrible perplexity; at laſt, in rummaging a cheſt belonging to the Spaniſh bark, they diſcovered a ſmall compaſs, which, though little better than the toys uſually made for the amuſement of ſchool-boys, was to them an invaluable treaſure. And a few days after by a ſimilar piece of good fortune, they met with a quadrant on the ſea ſhore, which had been thrown over-board amongſt other lumber belonging to the dead. The quadrant was eagerly ſeized; but, on examination, it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore, in its preſent ſtate, was altogether uſeleſs; however, fortune ſtill continuing in a favourable mood, it was not long before a perſon, through curioſity, pulling out the drawer of an old table which had been driven on ſhore, found therein ſome vanes, which fitted the quadrant very well; and it being thus compleated, it was examined by the known latitude

of the place, and, upon trial, anſwered to a ſufficient degree of exactneſs.

When now all theſe obſtacles were, in ſome degree, removed (which were always as much as poſſible concealed from the vulgar, that they might not grow remiſs with the apprehenſion of labouring to no purpoſe) the buſineſs proceeded very ſucceſsfully and vigorouſly: the neceſſary iron-work was in great forwardneſs, and the timbers and planks (which, though not the moſt exquiſite performers of the ſawyer's art, were yet ſufficient for the purpoſe) were all prepared; ſo that, on the 6th of October, being the 14th day from the departure of the ſhip, they hauled the bark on ſhore, and on the two ſucceeding days ſhe was ſawn aſunder, though with the caution not to cut her planks: and her two parts being ſeparated the proper diſtances from each other, and the materials being all ready before hand, they the next day, being the 9th of October, went on with no ſmall diſpatch in their propoſed enlargement of her; whence, by this time, they had all their future operations ſo fairly in view, and were ſo much maſters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finiſhed, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to ſea. But their projects and labours were now drawing to a ſpeedier and happier concluſion; for on the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the Glouceſter's men, being upon a hill in the middle of the iſland, perceived the Centurion at a diſtance, and running down with his utmoſt ſpeed towards the landing place, he, in the way, ſaw ſome of his comrades, to whom he hallooed out with great extaſy, The ſhip, the ſhip! This being heard by Mr Gordon, a Lieutenant of marines, who was convinced by the fellow's tranſ-

port that his report was true, Mr Gordon directly haſtened towards the place where the Commodore and his people were at work, and being freſh and in breath, eaſily out-ſtripped the Glouceſter's man, and got before him to the Commodore, who, on hearing this pleaſing and unexpected news, threw down his ax, with which he was then at work, and by his joy broke through, for the firſt time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preſerved; whilſt the others, who were preſent, inſtantly ran down to the ſea-ſide in a kind of frenzy, eager to feaſt themſelves with a ſight they had ſo ardently longed after, and of which they had now for a conſiderable time deſpaired. By five in the evening the Centurion was viſible in the offing to them all; and a boat being ſent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with freſh meat and fruits for the refreſhment of her crew, ſhe, the next afternoon, happily caſt anchor in the road, where the Commodore immediately came on board her, and was received by us with the ſincereſt and heartieſt acclamations; for, by the following ſhort recital of the fears, the dangers and fatigues, we in the ſhip underwent, during our nineteen days abſence from Tinian, it may be eaſily conceived, that a harbour, refreſhments, repoſe, and the joining of our commander and ſhipmates, were not leſs pleaſing to us, than our return was to them.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings on board the Centurion when driven out to ſea.

THE Centurion being now once more ſafely arrived at Tinian, to the mutual reſpite of the labours of our divided crew, it is high time the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of thoſe left on ſhore, ſhould be appriſed of the fatigues and diſtreſſes to which we, whom the Centurion carried off to ſea, were expoſed, during the long interval of nineteen days that we were abſent from the iſland.

It has been already mentioned, that it was the 22d of September, about one o'clock, in an extreme dark night, when, by the united violence of a prodigious ſtorm, and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors, and forced to ſea. Our condition then was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ſhip, with three cables in our hawſes, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor: we had not a gun on board laſhed, nor a port barred in; our ſhrouds were looſe, and our top-maſts unrigged, and we had ſtruck our fore and main yards cloſe down before the hurricane came on; ſo that there were no ſails we could ſet, except our mizen. In this dreadful extremity we could muſter no more ſtrength on board, to navigate the ſhip, than an hundred and eight hands, ſeveral negroes and Indians included. This was ſcarcely the fourth part of our complement; and of theſe the greater number were either boys, or ſuch as, being but

ately recovered from the ſcurvy, had not yet arrived at half their former vigour. No ſooner were we at ſea, but, by the violence of the ſtorm, and the working of the ſhip, we made a great quantity of water through our hawſeholes, ports, and ſcuppers, which, added to the conſtant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a ſufficient employment for us all. But though we knew that this leakage, by being a ſhort time neglected, would inevitably end in our deſtruction; yet we had other dangers then hanging over us, which occaſioned this to be regarded as a ſecondary conſideration only. For we all imagined that we were driving directly on the neighbouring iſland of Aguiguan, which was about two leagues diſtant; and as we had lowered our main and fore-yards cloſe down, we had no ſails we could ſet but the mizen, which was altogether inſufficient to carry us clear off this imminent peril. Urged, therefore, by this preſſing emergency, we immediately applied ourſelves to work, endeavouring, with the utmoſt of our efforts, to heave up the main and fore-yards, in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make uſe of our lower canvaſs, we might poſſibly weather the iſland, and thereby ſave ourſelves from this impending ſhipwreck. But, after full three hours ineffectual labour, the jeers broke, and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged, by mere debility, to deſiſt, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable. For we ſoon eſteemed ourſelves to be driven juſt upon the ſhore, and the night was ſo extremely dark, that we expected to diſcover the iſland no otherwiſe than by ſtriking upon it: ſo that the belief of our deſtruction, and the uncertainty of the point of time when it would take place, occaſioned us to paſs ſeveral hours under the moſt ſerious appre-

henſions that each ſucceeding moment would ſend us to the bottom. Nor did theſe continued terrors, of inſtantly ſtriking and ſinking, end but with the day-break, when we, with great tranſport, perceived, that the iſland we had thus dreaded was at a conſiderable diſtance, and that a ſtrong northern current had been the cauſe of our preſervation.

The turbulent weather which forced us from Tinian, did not abate till three days after, and then we ſwayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard; but the jeers broke again, and killed one of our people, and prevented us, at that time, from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of September, was a day of moſt ſevere fatigue to us all; for it muſt be remembered, that, in theſe exigencies, no rank or office exempted any perſon from the manual application and bodily labour of a common ſailor. The buſineſs of this day was no leſs than an endeavour to heave up the ſheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preſervation. For, not to mention the impediment it would be to our navigation, and hazard to our ſhip, if we attempted to make ſail with the anchor in its preſent ſituation, we had this moſt intereſting conſideration to animate us, that it was the only anchor we had left, and, without ſecuring it, we ſhould be under the utmoſt difficulties and hazards whenever we fell in with the land again; and therefore, being all of us fully appriſed of the conſequence of this enterprize, we laboured at it with the ſevereſt application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a conſiderable progreſs, having brought the anchor in ſight; but it growing dark, and we being exceſſively fatigued, we were ob-

ged to desist, and to leave our work unfinished ill the next morning, and then, refreshed by the enefit of a night's rest, we compleated it, and ung the anchor at our bow.

It was the 27th of September, that is, five days fter our departure, before we had thus secured ur anchor: however, we, the same day, got up ur main-yard; so that having now conquered, n some degree, the distress and disorder which ve were necessarily involved in at our first driving ut to sea, and being enabled to make use of our anvass, we set our courses, and, for the first ime, stood to the eastward, in hopes of regaining the island of Tinian, and joining our Commodore in a few days, since, by our accounts, we were only forty-seven leagues distant to the outh-west. Hence, on the first day of October, aving then run the distance necessary for making the island, according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of seeing it; but here we were unhappily disappointed, and were thereby convinced that a current had driven us considerably to the westward. This discovery threw us into a new perplexity; for as we could not judge how much we might hereby have deviated, and consequently how long we might still expect to be at sea, we had great apprehensions that our stock of water would prove deficient, since we were doubtful about the quantity we had on board, finding many of our casks so decayed as to be half leaked out. However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day, having then a sight of the island of Guam; and hence we computed, that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the westward of our accounts. Being now satisfied of our situation, by this sight of land, we kept plying to the eastward, though with excessive labour; for, the wind continuing

fixed in the eaſtern board, we were obliged to tack often, and our crew was ſo weak, that, without the aſſiſtance of every man on board, it was not in our power to put the ſhip about. This ſevere employment laſted till the 11th of October, being the nineteenth day from our departure; when, arriving in the offing of Tinian, we were reinforced from the ſhore, as hath been already related; and, on the evening of the ſame day, we, to our inexpreſſible joy, came to an anchor in the road; thereby procuring to our ſhipmates on ſhore, as well as to ourſelves, a ceſſation from the fatigues and apprehenſions which this diſaſtrous incident had given riſe to.

CHAP. V.

Employment at Tinian till the final departure of the Centurion from thence; with a deſcription of the Ladrones.

WHEN the Commodore came on board the Centurion, after her return to Tinian, he reſolved to ſtay no longer at the iſland than was abſolutely neceſſary to compleat our ſtock of water; a work which we immediately ſet ourſelves about. But the loſs of our long-boat, which was ſtaved againſt our poop, before we were driven out to ſea, put us to great inconveniencies in getting our water on board; for we were obliged to raft off all our caſks, and the tide ran ſo ſtrong, that beſides the frequent delays and difficulties it occaſioned, we more than once loſt the whole raft. Nor was this our only misfortune; for on the 14th of October, being but the

third day after our arrival, a ſudden guſt of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ſhip out to ſea a ſecond time. The Commodore, it is true, and the principal officers, were now on board; but we had near ſeventy men on ſhore, who had been employed in filling our water, and procuring proviſions. Theſe had with them our two cutters: but as they were too many for the cutters to bring off at once, we ſent the eighteen-oared barge to aſſiſt them; and, at the ſame time, made a ſignal for all that could to embark. The two cutters ſoon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were buſied in killing cattle in the woods, and in bringing them down to the landing-place, remained behind; and though the eighteen-oared barge was left for their conveyance, yet, as the ſhip ſoon drove to a conſiderable diſtance, it was not in their power to join us. However, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now ſtronger than when we were firſt driven out, we, in about five days time, returned again to an anchor at Tinian, and relieved thoſe we had left behind us from their ſecond fears of being deſerted by their ſhip.

On our arrival we found, that the Spaniſh bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphoſis: for thoſe on ſhore, deſpairing of our return, and conceiving, that the lengthening the bark, as formerly propoſed, was both a toilſome and unneceſſary meaſure, conſidering the ſmall number they conſiſted of, they had reſolved to join her again, and reſtore her to her firſt ſtate; and in this ſcheme they had made ſome progreſs; for they had brought the two parts together, and would have ſoon

compleated her, had not our coming back put a period to their labours and diſquietudes.

Theſe people we had left behind informed us, that, juſt before we were ſeen in the offing, two proas had ſtood in very near the ſhore, and had continued there for ſome time; but, on the appearance of our ſhip, they crowded away, and were preſently out of ſight. And, on this occaſion, I muſt mention an incident, which, though it happened during the firſt abſence of the ſhip, was then omitted, to avoid interrupting the courſe of the narration.

It hath been already obſerved, that a part of the detachment, ſent to this iſland, under command of the Spaniſh ſerjeant, lay concealed in the woods: indeed we were the leſs ſolicitous to find them out, as our priſoners all aſſured us, that it was impoſſible for them to get off, and conſequently, that it was impoſſible for them to ſend any intelligence about us to Guam. But when the Centurion drove out to ſea, and left the Commodore on ſhore, he, one day, attended by ſome of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the iſland. In this expedition, being on a riſing ground, they obſerved in the valley beneath them, the appearance of a ſmall thicket, which, by attending to more nicely, they found had a progreſſive motion: this, at firſt, ſurpriſed them; but they ſoon perceived that it was no more than ſeveral large coco-buſhes, which were dragged along the ground by perſons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that theſe were ſome of the ſerjeant's party, which was indeed true; and therefore the Commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of tracing out their retreat. The Indians remarked that they were diſcovered, hurried away with precipitation; but Mr Anſon was ſo near them,

that he did not loſe ſight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering, found to be abandoned, there being a paſſage from it, which had been contrived for the conveniency of flight, and which led down a precipice. They here met with an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of proviſions, particularly ſalted ſpar-ribs of pork, which were excellent; and, from what our people ſaw, they concluded, that the extraordinary appetite which they had acquired at this iſland was not confined to themſelves alone; for, it being about noon, the Indians laid out a very plentiful repaſt, conſidering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts prepared ready for eating, in a manner too which plainly evinced, that with them, a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheaded article. The Commodore having, in vain, ſearched after the path by which the Indians eſcaped, he and his officers contented themſelves with ſitting down to dinner, which was thus luckily fitted to their preſent hunger; after which they returned back to their old habitation, diſpleaſed at miſſing the Indians, as they hoped to have engaged them in our ſervice, if they could have had any conference with them: I muſt add, that, notwithſtanding what our priſoners had aſſerted, we were afterwards aſſured that theſe Indians were carried off to Guam, long before we left the place. But to return to our hiſtory.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our ſecond driving off to ſea, we laboured indefatigably at getting in our water; and having, by the 20th of October, compleated it to fifty ton, which we ſuppoſed would be ſufficient during our paſſage to Macao, we, on the next day, ſent one of each meſs on ſhore to gather as large a quantity of o-

ranges, lemons, coco-nuts, and other fruits of the iſland, as they poſſibly could, for the uſe of themſelves and their meſs-mates when at ſea. And theſe purveyors returning on the evening of the ſame day, we then ſet fire to the bark and proa, hoiſted in our boats, and got under ſail, ſteering away towards the ſouth end of the iſland of Formoſa, and taking our leave for the third and laſt time of the iſland of Tinian; an iſland which, whether we conſider the excellence of its productions, the beauty of its appearance, the elegance of its woods and lawns, the healthineſs of its air, or the adventures it gave riſe to, may, in all theſe views, be juſtly ſtiled romantic.

And, now poſtponing, for a ſhort time, our run to Formoſa, and thence to Canton, I ſhall interrupt the narration with a deſcription of that range of iſlands, uſually called the Ladrones, or Marian iſlands, of which this of Tinian is one.

Theſe iſlands were diſcovered by Magellan, in the year 1521: and from the account given of the two he firſt fell in with, it ſhould ſeem that they were thoſe of Saypan and Tinian: for they are deſcribed as very beautiful iſlands, and as lying between 15 and 16 degrees of north latitude. Theſe characteriſtics are particularly applicable to the two above-mentioned places; for the pleaſing appearance of Tinian hath occaſioned the Spaniards to give it the additional name of Buenaviſta; and Saypan, which is in the latitude of 15° : 22′ north, affords no contemptible proſpect when ſeen at ſea, as is ſufficiently evident from the view of its north weſt ſide, taken at three leagues diſtance, and exhibited in the XXXVIIth plate.

There are uſually reckoned twelve of theſe iſlands; but it will appear, from the chart of the north part of the Pacific ocean, hereafter inſerted, that, if the ſmall iſlets and rocks are counted, that their whole number will amount to above twenty. They were formerly moſt of them well inhabited; and even not ſixty years ago, the three principal iſlands, Guam, Rota, and Tinian together, are aſſerted to have contained above fifty thouſand people; but, ſince that time, Tinian hath been entirely depopulated; and no more than two or three hundred Indians have been left at Rota, to cultivate rice for the iſland of Guam; ſo that now Guam alone can properly be ſaid to be inhabited. This iſland of Guam is the only ſettlement of the Spaniards; here they keep a governor and garriſon, and here the Manila ſhip generally touches for refreſhment in her paſſage from Acapulco to the Philippines. It is eſteemed to be about thirty leagues in circumference, and contains, by the Spaniſh accounts, near four thouſand inhabitants, of which a thouſand are ſuppoſed to live in the city of San Ignatio de Agana, where the governor generally reſides, and where the houſes are repreſented as conſiderable, being built with ſtone and timber, and covered with tiles, a very uncommon fabric for theſe warm climates and ſavage countries: beſides this city, there are upon the iſland thirteen or fourteen villages. As Guam is a poſt of ſome conſequence, on account of the refreſhment it yields to the Manila ſhip, there are two caſtles on the ſea-ſhore; one is the caſtle of St. Angelo, which lies near the road where the Manila ſhip uſually anchors, and is but an inſignificant fortreſs, mounting only five guns, eight pounders; the other is the caſtle of St. Lewis, which is N. E. from St Angelo, and four leagues

diſtant, and is intended to protect a road where a ſmall veſſel anchors, which arrives here every other year from Manila. This fort mounts the ſame number of guns as the former; and, beſides theſe forts, there is a battery of five pieces of cannon on an eminence near the ſea-ſhore. The Spaniſh troops, employed at this iſland, conſiſt of three companies of foot, betwixt forty and fifty men each; and this is the principal ſtrength the governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any aſſiſtance from the Indian inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them, and ſo apprehenſive of them, that he has debarred them the uſe both of fire arms and launces.

The reſt of theſe iſlands, though not inhabited, do yet abound with many kinds of refreſhment and proviſion; but there is no good harbour or road amongſt them all: all of that of Tinian we have treated largely already; nor is the road of Guam much better; ſince it is not uncommon for the Manila ſhip, though ſhe propoſes to ſtay there but twenty-four hours, to be forced to ſea, and to leave her boat behind her. This is an inconvenience ſo ſenſibly felt by the commerce at Manila, that it is always recommended to the governor at Guam to uſe his beſt endeavours for the diſcovery of ſome ſecure port in the neighbouring ocean. How induſtrious he may be to comply with his inſtructions, I know not; but this is certain, that, notwithſtanding the many iſlands already found out between the coaſt of Mexico and the Philippines, there is not any one ſafe port to be met with in that whole track; though, in other parts of the world, it is not uncommon for very ſmall iſlands to furniſh moſt excellent harbours.

From what has been ſaid it appears, that the Spaniards, on the iſland of Guam, are extremely few, compared to the Indian inhabitants; and formerly the diſproportion was ſtill greater, as may be eaſily conceived from the account given, in another chapter, of the numbers heretofore on Tinian alone. Theſe Indians are a bold, ſtrong, well-limbed people; and as it ſhould ſeem from ſome of their practices, are no ways defective in underſtanding: for their flying proas in particular, which, during ages paſt, have been the only veſſels employed by them, are ſo ſingular and extraordinary an invention, that it would do honour to any nation, however dextrous and acute; ſince, if we conſider the aptitude of this proa to the navigation of theſe iſlands, which, lying all of them, nearly under the ſame meridian, and within the limits of the trade-wind, require the veſſels made uſe of in paſſing from one to the other to be peculiarly fitted for ſailing with the wind upon the beam; or, if we examine the uncommon ſimplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, or the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we ſhall, in each of theſe articles, find it worthy of our admiration, and deſerving a place amongſt the mechanical productions of the moſt civilized nations, where arts and ſciences have moſt eminently flouriſhed. As former navigators, tho' they have mentioned theſe veſſels, have yet treated of them imperfectly, and as I conceive, that, beſides their curioſity, they may furniſh both the ſhip-wright and ſeaman with no contemptible obſervations; I ſhall here inſert a very exact deſcription of the build, rigging, and working of theſe veſſels; which I am the better enabled to perform, as one of them fell into our hands on our firſt arrival at Tinian, and Mr Brett took it to

pieces, that he might delineate its fabric and dimenſions with greater accuracy; ſo that the following account may be relied on.

The name of flying proa, appropriated to theſe veſſels, is owing to the ſwiftneſs with which they ſail. Of this the Spaniards aſſert ſuch ſtories, as muſt appear altogether incredible to one who has never ſeen theſe veſſels move: nor are they the only people who recount theſe extraordinary tales of their celerity; for thoſe who ſhall have the curioſity to enquire at Portſmouth dock, about an experiment tried there ſome years ſince, with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not leſs wonderful than any the Spaniards have related. However, from ſome rude eſtimations made by us, of the velocity with which they croſſed the horizon at a diſtance, while we lay at Tinian, I cannot help believing, that, with a briſk trade-wind, they will run near twenty miles an hour: which, though greatly ſhort of what the Spaniards report of them, is yet a prodigious degree of ſwiftneſs. But let us give a diſtinct idea of its figure.

The conſtruction of this proa is a direct contradiction to the practice of all the reſt of mankind. For as it is cuſtomary to make the head of the veſſel different from the ſtern, but the two ſides alike; the proa, on the contrary, has her head and ſtern exactly alike, but her two ſides very different: the ſide intended to be always the lee-ſide, being flat, whilſt the windward ſide is built rounding, in the manner of other veſſels; and, to prevent her overſetting, which, from her ſmall breadth, and the ſtrait run of her leeward-ſide, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of

which is faſtened a log, faſhioned into the ſhape of a ſmall boat, and made hollow: the weight of the frame is intended to balance the proa, and the ſmall boat is by its buoyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her overſetting to windward; and this frame is uſually called an outrigger. The body of the proa (at leaſt of that we took) is formed of two pieces joined end-ways, and ſewed together with bark, for there is no iron uſed in her conſtruction; ſhe is about two inches thick at the bottom, which, at the gunwale, is reduced to leſs than one: the dimenſions of each part will be better known from the uprights and views contained in the XXXVIIIth plate, which were drawn from an exact menſuration; theſe I ſhall endeavour to explain as minutely and diſtinctly as I can.

Fig. 1. Repreſents the proa with her ſails ſet, as ſhe appears when ſeen from the leeward.

Fig. 2. Is a view of her from the head, with the outrigger to the windward.

Fig. 3. Is the plan of the whole; where (AB) is the lee-ſide of the proa; (CD) the wind-ward ſide; (EFGH) the out rigger, or frame laid out to windward; (KL) the boat at the end of it; (MNPQ) two braces from the head and ſtern to ſteady the frame; (RS) a thin plank placed to windward, to prevent the proa from ſhipping of water; this ſerves too for a ſeat to the Indian who bales, and ſometimes goods are carried upon it. (I) is the part of the middle outrigger, on which the maſt is fixed: the maſt itſelf is ſupported *Fig.* 2. by the ſhore (CD), and by the ſhroud (EF), and by two ſtays, one of which may be ſeen in *Fig.* 1. marked (CD), the other is hid by the ſail: the ſail (EFG), in *Fig.* 1. is of matting, and the maſt, yard, boom, and outriggers are all made of bamboo: the heel of the

yard is always lodged in one of the ſockets (T) or (V) *Fig.* 3. according to the tack the proa goes on; and when ſhe alters her tack, they bear away a little, to bring her ſtern up to the wind; then, by eaſing the halyard, and raiſing the yard, and carrying the heel of it along the lee-ſide of the proa, they fix it in the oppoſite ſocket; whilſt the boom, at the ſame time, by letting fly the ſheet (M), and haling the ſheet (N) *Fig.* 1. ſhifts into a contrary ſituation to what it had before, and that which was the ſtern of the proa now becomes the head, and ſhe is trimmed on the other tack. When it is neceſſary to reef or furl the ſail, this is done by rolling it round the boom. The proa generally carries ſix or ſeven Indians; two of which are placed in the head and ſtern, who ſteer the veſſel alternately with a paddle, according to the tack ſhe goes on, he in the ſtern being the ſteerſman; the other Indians are employed either in baling out the water which ſhe accidentally ſhips, or in ſetting and trimming the ſail. From the deſcription of theſe veſſels it is ſufficiently obvious how dextrouſly they are fitted for ranging this collection of iſlands called the Ladrones; ſince, as theſe iſlands bear nearly N. and S. of each other, and are all within the limits of the trade-wind, the proas, by ſailing moſt excellently on a wind, and with either end foremoſt, can run from one of theſe iſlands to the other, and back again, only by ſhifting the ſail, without ever putting about; and by the flatneſs of their lee-ſide, and their ſmall breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other veſſel hitherto known, and thereby have an advantage which no veſſels that go large can ever pretend to; the advantage I mean is that of running with a velocity nearly as great and, perhaps, ſometimes greater, than what the

wind blows with. This, however paradoxial it may appear, is evident enough in ſimilar inſtances on ſhore; ſince it is well known that the ſails of a windmill often move faſter than the wind; and one great ſuperiority of common windmills over all others, that ever were, or ever will be contrived to move with an horizontal motion, is analogous to the caſe we have mentioned of a veſſel upon a wind, and before the wind; for the ſails of an horizontal windmill, the faſter they move, the more they detract from the impulſe of the wind upon them; whereas the common windmills, by moving perpendicular to the torrent of air, are nearly as forcibly acted on by the wind when they are in motion, as when they are at reſt.

Thus much may ſuffice as to the deſcription and nature of theſe ſingular embarkations. I muſt add, that veſſels bearing ſome obſcure reſemblance to theſe are to be met with in various parts of the Eaſt-Indies, but none of them, that I can learn, to be compared with thoſe of the Ladrones, either for their conſtruction or celerity; which ſhould induce one to believe, that this was originally the invention of ſome genius of theſe iſlands, and was afterwards imperfectly copied by the neighbouring nations. For though the Ladrones have no immediate intercourſe with any other people, yet there ly to the S. and S. W. of them a great number of iſlands, which are imagined to extend to the coaſt of New Guinea. Theſe iſlands are ſo near the Ladrones, that canoes from them have ſometimes, by diſtreſs, been driven to Guam; and the Spaniards did once diſpatch a bark for their diſcovery, which left two Jeſuits amongſt them, who were afterwards murdered; whence it may be preſumed, that the inhabitants of the Ladrones, with their proas, may by

ſtorms or caſualties have been driven amongſt thoſe iſlands. Indeed I ſhould conceive, that the ſame range of iſlands ſtretches to the S. E. as well as the S. W. and to a prodigious diſtance: For Schouten, who traverſed the ſouth part of the Pacific ocean in the year 1615, met with a large double canoe, full of people, above a thouſand leagues from the Ladrones towards the S. E. If that double canoe was any diſtant imitation of the flying proa, which is no very improbable conjecture, it muſt then be ſuppoſed that a range of iſlands, near enough to each other to be capable of an accidental communication, is continued thither from the Ladrones. This ſeems to be further evinced from hence, that all thoſe who have croſſed from America to the Eaſt-Indies, in a ſouthern latitude, have never failed of diſcovering ſeveral ſmall iſlands ſcattered over that immenſe ocean.

And as there may be hence ſome reaſon to conclude, that there is a chain of iſlands ſpreading themſelves ſouthward, towards the unknown boundaries of the Pacific ocean, of which the Ladrones are only a part; ſo it appears from the Spaniſh chart hereafter inſerted, that the ſame chain is extended from the northward of the Ladrones to Japan: whence, in this light, the Ladrones will be only one ſmall portion of a range of iſlands reaching from Japan, perhaps to the unknown ſouthern continent. After this ſhort account of theſe places, I ſhall now return to the proſecution of our voyage.

CHAP. VI.

From Tinian to Macao.

ON the 21ſt of October, in the evening, we took our leave of the iſland of Tinian, ſteering the proper courſe for Macao in China. The eaſtern monſoon was now, we reckoned, fairly ſettled: and we had a conſtant gale blowing right a-ſtern; ſo that we generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a day: but we had a large hollow ſea purſuing us, which occaſioned the ſhip to labour much; whence our leak was augmented, and we received great damage in our rigging, which by this time was grown very rotten: however, our people were now happily in full health; ſo that there were no complaints of fatigue, but all went through their attendance on the pumps and every other duty of the ſhip, with eaſe and chearfulneſs.

Before we left Tinian, we ſwept for our beſt and ſmall bower, and employed the Indians to dive in ſearch of them; but all to no purpoſe; hence, except our prize anchors, which were ſtowed in the hold, and were too light to be depended on, we had only our ſheet anchor left: and that being obviouſly much too heavy for a coaſting anchor, we were under great concern how we ſhould manage on the coaſt of China, where we were entire ſtrangers, and where we ſhould, doubtleſs, be frequently under the neceſſity of coming to an anchor. But we, at length, removed the difficulty, by fixing two of our largeſt prize anchors into one ſtock, and placing between their ſhanks two guns, four pounders;

this we intended to ſerve as a beſt bower; and a third prize anchor being, in like manner, joined to our ſtream anchor, with guns between them, made us a ſmall bower: ſo that, beſides our ſheet anchor, we had again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3,900, and the other 2,900 pounds.

The 3d of November, about three in the afternoon, we ſaw an iſland, which, at firſt, we imagined to be Botel Tobago Xima: but, on our nearer approach, we found it to be much ſmaller than that is uſually repreſented; and about an hour after, we ſaw another iſland, five or ſix miles farther to the weſtward. As no chart or journal we had ſeen took notice of any iſland to the eaſtward of Formoſa, but Botel Tobago Xima, and as we had no obſervation of our latitude at noon, we were in ſome perplexity, apprehending that an extraordinary current had driven us into the neighbourhood of the Baſhee iſlands: we therefore, when night came on, brought to, and continued in that poſture till the next morning, which proving dark and cloudy for ſome time prolonged our uncertainty; but it clearing up about nine o'clock, we again diſcerned the two iſlands above-mentioned; and having now the day before us, we preſſed forwards to the weſtward, and, by eleven, got ſight of the ſouthren part of the iſland of Formoſa. This ſatisfied us that the ſecond iſland we ſaw was Botel Tobago Xima, and the firſt a ſmall iſlet or rock lying five or ſix miles due eaſt of it, which not being mentioned in any of our books or charts, had been the occaſion of all our doubts.

When we had made the iſland of Formoſa, we ſteerd W. by S. in order to double its extremity, and kept a good look out for the rocks of Vele Rete, which we did not diſcover till two in the

afternon. They then bore from us W. N. W. three miles diſtant, the ſouth end of Formoſa at the ſame time bearing N. by W. W.$\frac{1}{2}$, about five leagues diſtant. To give theſe rocks a good birth, we immediately haled up S. by W. and ſo left them between us and the land. Indeed we had reaſon to be careful of them; for though they appeared as high out of the water as a ſhip's hull, yet they are invironed with breakers on all ſides, and there is a ſhoal ſtretching from them at leaſt a mile and a half to the ſouthward, whence they may be truly called dangerous. The courſe from Botel Tobago Xima to theſe rocks, is S. W. by W. and the diſtance about twelve or thirteen leagues; and the ſouth end of Formoſa, of which they lie, is in the latitude of 21° : 50′ north, and, according to our moſt approved reckoning, in 23° : 50′ weſt longitude from Tinian, though ſome of our accounts made its longitude above a degree more.

While we were paſſing by theſe rocks of Vele Rete, there was an outcry of fire on the forecaſtle; this occaſioned a general alarm, and the whole crew inſtantly flocked together in the utmoſt confuſion; ſo that the officers found it difficult, for ſome time, to appeaſe the uproar: but having at laſt reduced the people to order, it was perceived, that the fire proceeded from the furnace, where the bricks being overheated, had begun to communicate the fire to the adjacent wood-work; hence, by pulling down the brick-work, it was extinguiſhed with great facility. In the evening we were ſurprized with a view of what we at firſt ſight conceived to have been breakers, but on a ſtricter examination, we diſcerned them to be only a number of fires on the iſland of Formoſa. Theſe, we imagined were intended by the inhabitants of that iſland as ſig-

nals to invite us to touch there; but that ſuited not our views, we being impatient to reach the port of Macao as ſoon as poſſible. From Formoſa we ſteered W. N. W. and ſometimes ſtill more northerly, propoſing to fall in with the coaſt of China, to the eaſtward of Pedro Blanco; as the rock ſo called is uſually eſteemed an excellent direction for ſhips bound to Macao. We continued this courſe till the following night, and then frequently brought to, to try if we were in ſoundings: but it was the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, before we ſtruck ground, and then we had forty-two fathom, and a bottom of grey ſand mixed with ſhells. When we had run about twenty miles farther W. N. W. we had thirty-five fathom, and the ſame bottom; then our ſoundings gradually decreaſed from thirty-five to twenty-five fathom; but ſoon after, to our great ſurpriſe, they jumped back again to thirty fathom. This was an alteration we could not very well account for, ſince all the charts laid down regular ſoundings every where to the northward of Pedro Blanco: we, for this reaſon, kept a very careful look-out, and altered our courſe to N. N. W. and having run thirty-five miles in that direction, our ſoundings again gradually diminiſhed to twenty-two fathom, and we, at laſt, about midnight, got ſight of the main land of China, bearing N by W. four leagues diſtant. We then brought the ſhip to, with her head to the ſea, propoſing to wait for the morning; and, before ſun-riſe, we were ſurpriſed to find ourſelves in the midſt of an incredible number of fiſhing-boats, which ſeemed to cover the ſurface of the ſea as far as the eye could reach. I may well ſtile their number incredible, ſince I cannot believe, upon the loweſt eſtimate, that there were ſo few as ſix

thouſand, moſt of them manned with five hands, and none of thoſe we ſaw with leſs than three. Nor was this ſwarm of fiſhing-veſſels peculiar to that ſpot; for, as we ran to the weſtward, we found them as abundant on every part of the coaſt. We at firſt doubted not but we ſhould procure a pilot from them to carry us to Macao; but though many of them came cloſe to the ſhip, and we endeavoured to tempt them, by ſhowing them a number of dollars, a moſt alluring bait for Chineſe of all ranks and profeſſions, yet we could not entice them on board us, nor procure any directions from them, though I preſume the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted them to do, as we could have no communication with them but by ſigns. Indeed we often pronounced the word Macao; but this we had reaſon to ſuppoſe they underſtood in a different ſenſe, ſince in return they ſometimes held up fiſh to us; and we afterwards learned, that the Chineſe name for fiſh is of a ſomewhat ſimilar ſound. But what ſurpriſed us moſt, was the inattention and want of curioſity which we obſerved in this herd of fiſhermen. A ſhip like ours had, doubtleſs, never been in thoſe ſeas before: perhaps there might not be one, amongſt all the Chineſe employed in that fiſhery, who had ever ſeen any European veſſel; ſo that we might reaſonably have expected to have been conſidered by them as a very uncommon and extraordinary object. But though many of their boats came cloſe to the ſhip, yet they did not appear to be at all intereſted about us, nor did they deviate in the leaſt from their courſe to regard us; which inſenſibility, eſpecially of maritime perſons, in a matter relating to their own profeſſion, is ſcarcely to be credited, did not the general behaviour of the Chineſe, in other in-

ſtances, furniſh us with continual proofs of a ſimilar turn of mind. It may perhaps be doubted, whether this caſt of temper be the effect of nature or education; but, in either caſe, it is an inconteſtible ſymptom of a mean and contemptable diſpoſition, and is alone a ſufficient confutation of the extravagant praiſes which many prejudiſed writers have beſtowed on the ingenuity and capacity of this nation. But to return.

Not being able to procure any information from the Chineſe fiſhermen about our proper courſe to Macao, it was neceſſary for us to rely entirely on our own judgment: and concluding from our latitude, which was 22° 42' north, and from our ſoundings, which were only ſeventeen or eighteen fathoms, that we were yet to the eaſtward of Pedro Blanco, we ſtill ſtood on to the weſtward. And for the aſſiſtance of future navigators, who may hereafter doubt what part of the coaſt they are upon, I muſt obſerve, that, beſides the latitude of Pedro Blanco, which is 22° 18', and the depth of the water, which to the weſtward of that rock is almoſt every where twenty fathoms, there is another circumſtance which will be greatly aſſiſtant in judging of the poſition of the ſhip; this is the kind of ground; for, till we came within thirty miles of Pedro Blanco, we had conſtantly a ſandy bottom, but there the bottom changed to ſoft and muddy, and continued ſo quite to the iſland of Macao; only while we were in ſight of Pedro Blanco, and very near it, we had, for a ſhort ſpace, a bottom of greeniſh mud intermixed with ſand.

It was on the 5th of November, at midnight, when we firſt made the coaſt of China: the next day, about two o'clock, as we were ſtanding to the weſtward, within two leagues of the coaſt,

ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing-veſſels in as great numbers as at firſt, we perceived that a boat a-head of us waved a red flag, and blew a horn. This we conſidered as a ſignal made to us, either to warn us of ſome ſhoal, or to inform us that they would ſupply us with a pilot; we therefore immediately ſent our cutter to the boat to know their intentions; when we were ſoon convinced of our miſtake, and found that this boat was the commodore of the whole fiſhery, and that the ſignal ſhe had made, was to order them all to leave off fiſhing, and to return them in ſhore, which we ſaw them inſtantly obey. Being thus diſappointed, we kept on our courſe, and ſhortly after paſſed by two very ſmall rocks, which lay four or five miles diſtant from the ſhore. We were now in hourly expectation of deſcrying Pedro Blanco; but night came on before we got ſight of it, and we therefore brought to till the morning, when we had the ſatisfaction to diſcover it. Pedro Blanco is a rock of a ſmall circumference, but of a moderate height, reſembling a ſugar-loaf both in ſhape and colour, and is about ſeven or eight miles diſtant from the ſhore. We paſſed within a mile and a half of it, and left it between us and the land, ſtill keeping on to the weſtward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were a-breaſt of a chain of iſlands which ſtretched from eaſt to weſt. Theſe, as we afterwards found, were called the iſlands of Lema; they are rocky and barren, and are in all, ſmall and great, fifteen or ſixteen; but there are beſides many more between them and the main land of China. There is, in the XXXIXth plate, a view of theſe iſlands, and likewiſe a view of an iſland lying off Macao, called the Grand Ladrone, hereafter mentioned, as it appears when (R,) the weſtermoſt of the

rocks of Lema, bears W. N. W. at the diſtanc
of a mile and a half. We left theſe iſlands o
the ſtarboard ſide, paſſing within four miles o
them, where we had twenty-four fathom wate
Being ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing-boats, we onc
more ſent the cutter on board ſome of them, t
endeavour to procure a pilot, but we could no
prevail; however, one of the Chineſe directe
us by ſigns to ſail round the weſtermoſt of th
iſlands or rocks of Lema, and then to hale up
We followed this direction, and in the evenin
came to an anchor in eighteen fathom; at whic
time the rock (R,) in the foregoing draught
bore S. S. E. five miles diſtant, and the Gran
Ladrone W. by S. about two leagues diſtant
The rock (R) is a moſt excellent direction fo
ſhips coming from the eaſtward: its latitude i
21° : 52' north, and it bears from Pedro Blanc
S. 64° W. diſtant twenty-one leagues. You ar
to leave it on the ſtarboard ſide, and you ma
come within half a mile of it in eighteen fathom
water; and then you muſt ſteer N. by W. ½ W
for the channel, between the iſlands of Cabouc
and Bamboo, which are to the northward of th
Grand Ladrone.

After having continued at anchor all nigh
we, on the 9th, at four in the morning, ſen
our cutter to ſound the channel, where we pro
poſed to paſs; but before the return of the cut
ter, a Chineſe pilot put on board the Centurion
and told us, in broken Portugueſe, he would ca
ry the ſhip to Macao for thirty dollars: thes
were immediately paid him, and we then weigh
ed and made ſail. Soon after, ſeveral other pi
lots came on board, who, to recommend them
ſelves, produced certificates from the captain
of many European ſhips they had piloted in, bu
we ſtill continued under the management of th

hineſe whom we at firſt engaged. By this me we learned, that we were not far diſtant om Macao, and that there were in the river of anton, at the mouth of which Macao lies, ele- en European ſhips, of which four were Eng- ſh. Our pilot carried us between the iſlands f Bamboo and Cabouce; but the winds hang- ng in the northern board, and the tides often tting ſtrongly againſt us, we were obliged to ome frequently to an anchor; ſo that we did ot get through between the two iſlands till the 2th of November, at two in the morning. In aſſing through, our depth of water was from welve to fourteen fathom; and as we ſteered n N. by W. ½ W. between a number of other lands, our ſoundings underwent little or no ariation till towards the evening, when they in- reaſed to ſeventeen fathom; in which depth, he wind dying away, we anchored not far from he iſland of Lantoon, the largeſt of all this range f iſlands. At ſeven in the morning we weighed gain, and ſteering W. S. W. and S. W. by W. e, at ten o'clock, happily anchored in Macao oad, in five fathom water, the city of Macao bear- ng W. by N. three leagues diſtant; the peak of antoon E. by N. and the Grand Ladrone S. by E. ach of them about five leagues diſtant. Thus, fter a fatiguing cruize, of above two years con- inuance, we once more arrived at an amicable ort and civilized country, where the conve- iencies of life were in great plenty; where the aval ſtores, which we now extremely wanted, ould be in ſome degree procured; where we xpected the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction of receiv- ng letters from our relations and friends; and here our countrymen, who were lately arrived rom England, would be capable of anſwering he numerous inquiries we were prepared to

make, both about public and private occurrences, and to relate to us many particulars, which, whether of importance or not, would be liſtened to by us with the utmoſt attention, after the long ſuſpenſion of our correſpondence with our country, to which the nature of our undertaking had hitherto ſubjected us.

CHAP. VII.

Proceedings at Macao.

THE city of Macao, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 12th of November, is a Portugueſe ſettlement, ſituated in an iſland at the entrance of the river of Canton. It was formerly very rich and populous, and capable of defending itſelf againſt the power of the adjacent Chineſe governors; but at preſent it is much fallen from its ancient ſplendor; for though it is inhabited by Portugueſe, and hath a governor nominated by the King of Portugal, yet it ſubſiſts merely by the ſufferance of the Chineſe, who can ſtarve the place, and diſpoſſeſs the Portugueſe whenever they pleaſe. This obliges the governor of Macao to behave with great circumſpection, and carefully to avoid every circumſtance that may give offence to the Chineſe. The river of Canton, off the mouth of which this city lies, is the only Chineſe port frequented by European ſhips, and is on many accounts a more commodious harbour than Macao: but the peculiar cuſtoms of the Chineſe, ſolely adapted to the entertainment of trading ſhips, and the apprehenſions of the Commodore, leſt he ſhould embroil the Eaſt India company with the regency of Canton, if he ſhould inſiſt

on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, made him reſolve rather to go to Macao, than to venture into the river of Canton. Indeed, had not this reaſon prevailed with him, he himſelf had nothing to fear: for it is certain that he might have entered the port of Canton, and might have continued there as long as he pleaſed, and afterwards have left it again, although the whole power of the Chineſe empire had been brought together to oppoſe him.

The Commodore, not to depart from his uſual prudence, no ſooner came to an anchor in Macao road, than he diſpatched an officer with his compliments to the Portugueſe governor at Macao, requeſting his excellency, by the ſame officer, to adviſe him in what manner it would be proper to act, to avoid offending the Chineſe, which, as there were then four of our ſhips in their power at Canton, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty which the Commodore principally apprehended, related to the duty uſually paid by ſhips in the river of Canton, according to their tonnage. For, as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port-charges, the Commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country to ſubmit to this duty in China: and therefore he deſired the advice of the governor of Macao, who, being an European, could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a Britiſh man of war, and conſequently might be expected to give us the beſt lights for obviating this perplexity. Our boat returned in the evening, with two officers ſent by the governor, who informed the Commodore, that it was the governor's opinion, that, if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton, the duty would cer-

tainly be expected; and therefore, if the Commodore approved of it, he would ſend him a pilot, who ſhould conduct us into another ſafe harbour called the Typa, which was every way commodious for careening the ſhip (an operation we were reſolved to begin upon as ſoon as poſſible) and where, in all probability, the abovementioned duty would never be demanded.

This propoſal the Commodore agreed to, and in the morning weighed anchor, under the direction of the Portugueſe pilot, and ſteered for the intended harbour. As we entered between two iſlands, which form the eaſtern paſſage to it, we found our ſoundings decreaſed to three fathoms and a half: however, the pilot aſſuring us that this was the leaſt depth we ſhould meet with, we continued our courſe, till at length the ſhip ſtuck faſt in the mud, with only eighteen foot water abaft; and the tide of ebb making, the water ſewed to ſixteen feet; but the ſhip remained perfectly upright; we then ſounded all around us, and diſcovering that the water deepened to the northward, we carried out our ſmall bower with two hawſers an end, and at the return of the tide of flood, hove the ſhip a-float; and, a breeze ſpringing up at the ſame inſtant, we ſet the fore-top ſail, and ſlipping the hawſer, ran into the harbour, where we moored in about five fathom water. This harbour of the Typa is formed by a number of iſlands, and is about ſix miles diſtant from Macao. Here we ſaluted the caſtle of Macao with eleven guns, which were returned by an equal number.

The next day the Commodore paid a viſit in perſon to the governor, and was ſaluted at his landing by eleven guns, which were returned by the Centurion. Mr Anſon's buſineſs, in this viſit, was to ſolicit the governor to grant us a ſup-

ply both of proviſions, and of ſuch naval ſtores as were neceſſary to refit the ſhip. The governor ſeemed really inclined to do us all the ſervice he could; and aſſured the Commodore, in a friendly manner, that he would privately give us all the aſſiſtance in his power; but he at the ſame time frankly owned, that he dared not openly to furniſh us with any thing we demanded, unleſs we firſt produced an order for it from the viceroy of Canton; ſince he himſelf neither received proviſions for his garriſon, nor any other neceſſaries, but by permiſſion from the Chineſe government; and as they took care only to victual him from day to day, he was indeed no other than their vaſſal, whom they could at all times compel to ſubmit to their own terms, by laying an embargo on his proviſions.

On this declaration of the governor, Mr Anſon reſolved himſelf to go to Canton, to procure a licence from the viceroy; and he accordingly hired a Chineſe boat for himſelf and his attendants; but juſt as he was ready to embark, the Hoppo, or Chineſe cuſtom-houſe officer of Macao, refuſed to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the watermen not to proceed at their peril. The Commodore at firſt endeavoured to prevail with the Hoppo to withdraw his injunction, and to grant a permit; and the governor of Macao employed his intereſt with the Hoppo to the ſame purpoſe. But the officer continuing inflexible, Mr Anſon told him, the next day, that, if the permit was any longer refuſed, he would man and arm the Centurion's boats; aſking the Hoppo, at the ſame time, who he imagined would dare to oppoſe them in their paſſage? This threat immediately brought about what his intreaties had endeavoured at in vain: the permit was granted,

and Mr Anſon went to Canton. On his arrival there, he conſulted with the ſupercargoes and officers of the Engliſh ſhips, how to procure an order from the viceroy for the neceſſaries he wanted; but in this he had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the advice they gave him, though well intended, was yet not the moſt prudent: for as it is the cuſtom with theſe gentlemen never to apply to the ſupreme magiſtrate himſelf, whatever difficulties they labour under, but to tranſact all matters relating to the government by the mediation of the principal Chineſe merchants, Mr Anſon was perſuaded to follow the ſame method upon this occaſion, the Engliſh promiſing, in which they were doubtleſs ſincere, to exert all their intereſt to engage the merchants in his favour. Indeed, when the Chineſe merchants were ſpoke to, they readily undertook the management of this buſineſs, and promiſed to anſwer for its ſucceſs; but, after near a month's delay, and reiterated excuſes, during which interval they pretended to be often upon the point of compleating it, they at laſt, when they were preſſed, and meaſures were taken for delivering a letter to the Viceroy, threw off the maſk, and declared they neither had made application to the Viceroy, nor could they, as he was too great a man, they ſaid, for them to approach on any occaſion: and, not contented with having themſelves thus groſly deceived the Commodore, they now uſed all their perſuaſion with the Engliſh at Canton, to prevent them from intermeddling with any thing that regarded him; repreſenting to them, that it would, in all probability, embroil them with the government, and occaſion them a great deal of unneceſſary trouble; which groundleſs inſinuations had unluckily but too much weight with thoſe they were intended to influence.

It may be difficult to aſſign a reaſon for this

perfidious conduct of the Chineſe merchants. Intereſt, indeed, is known to exert a boundleſs influence over the inhabitants of that empire; but how their intereſt could be affected in the preſent caſe, is not eaſy to diſcover; unleſs they apprehended, that the preſence of a ſhip of force might damp their Manila trade, and therefore acted in this manner with a view of forcing the Commodore to Batavia; though it might be as natural, in this light, to ſuppoſe, that they would have been eager to have got him diſpatched. I therefore rather impute their behaviour to the unparallelled puſilanimity of the nation, and to the awe they are under of the government; ſince ſuch a ſhip as the Centurion, fitted for war only, having never been ſeen in thoſe parts before, ſhe was the horror of theſe daſtards, and the merchants were, in ſome degree, terrified even with the idea of her, and could not think of applying to the viceroy, who is doubtleſs fond of all opportunities of fleecing them, without repreſenting to themſelves the occaſions which a hungry and tyrannical magiſtrate might poſſibly find for cenſuring their intermeddling with ſo unuſual a tranſaction, in which he might pretend the intereſt of the ſtate was immediately concerned. However, be this as it may, the Commodore was ſatisfied that nothing was to be done by the interpoſition of the merchants, as it was on his preſſing them to deliver a letter to the viceroy, that they had declared they durſt not interfere in the affair; and had confeſſed, that, notwithſtanding all their pretences of ſerving him, they had not yet taken one ſtep towards it. Mr Anſon therefore told them, that he would proceed to Batavia, and refit his ſhip there; but informed them, at the ſame time, that this was impoſſible to be done, unleſs he was ſupplied with a ſtock of proviſions ſufficient for his paſſage. The merchants,

on this, undertook to procure him proviſions, though they aſſured him, that it was what they durſt not engage in openly, but they propoſed to manage it in a clandeſtine manner, by putting a quantity of bread, flour, and other proviſions, on board the Engliſh ſhips, which were now ready to ſail; and theſe were to ſtop at the mouth of the Typa, where the Centurion's boats were to receive it. This article, which the merchants repreſented as a matter of great favour, being ſettled, the Commodore on the 16th of December, came back from Canton to the ſhip, ſeemingly reſolved to proceed to Batavia to refit, as ſoon as he ſhould get his ſupplies of proviſions on board.

But Mr Anſon (who never intended going to Batavia) found, on his return to the Centurion, that her main maſt was ſprung in two places, and that the leak was conſiderably increaſed; ſo that upon the whole, he was fully ſatisfied, that though he ſhould lay in a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions, yet it would be impoſſible for him to put to ſea without refitting: ſince, if he left the port with his ſhip in her preſent condition, ſhe would be in the utmoſt danger of foundering; and therefore, notwithſtanding the difficulties he had met with, he reſolved, at all events, to have her hove down, before he departed from Macao. He was fully convinced, by what he had obſerved at Canton, that his great caution not to injure the Eaſt-India company's affairs, and the regard he had ſhown to the advice of their officers, had occaſioned all his perplexity. For he now ſaw clearly, that if he had at firſt carried his ſhip into the river of Canton, and had immediately addreſſed himſelf to the Mandarines, who are the chief officers of ſtate, inſtead of employing the merchants to apply on

his behalf, he would, in all probability, have had all his requeſts granted, and would have been ſoon diſpatched. He had already loſt a month by the wrong meaſures he had purſued, but he reſolved to looſe as little more time as poſſible; and therefore, the 17th of December, being the next day after his return from Canton, he wrote a letter to the viceroy of that place, acquainting him, that he was commander in chief of a ſquadron of his Britannic Majeſty's ſhips of war, which had been cruiſing, for two years paſt, in the ſouth ſeas againſt the Spaniards, who were at enmity with the king his maſter; that, on his way back to England he had put into the port of Macao, having a conſiderable leak in his ſhip, and being in great want of proviſions, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to proceed on his voyage till his ſhip was repaired, and he was ſupplied with the neceſſaries he wanted that he had been at Canton, in hopes of being admitted to a perſonal audience of his excellency; but, being a ſtranger to the cuſtoms of the country, he had not been able to inform himſelf what ſteps were neceſſary to be taken to procure ſuch an audience, and therefore was obliged to apply in this manner, to deſire his excellency to give orders for his being permitted to employ carpenters and proper workmen, to refit his ſhip, and to furniſh himſelf with proviſions and ſtores, that he might be enabled to purſue his voyage to Great-Britan; hoping, at the ſame time, that theſe orders would be iſſued with as little delay as poſſible, leſt it might occaſion his loſs of the ſeaſon, and he might be prevented from departing till the next winter.

This letter was tranſlated into the Chineſe language, and the Commodore delivered it himſelf to the Hoppo, or chief officer of the emperor's

cuſtoms at Macao, deſiring him to forward it to the viceroy of Canton, with as much expedition as he could. The officer, at firſt, ſeemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raiſed many difficulties about it; ſo that Mr Anſon ſuſpected him of being in league with the merchants of Canton, who had always ſhown a great apprehenſion of the Commodore's having any immediate intercourſe with the viceroy or Mandarines, and therefore the Commodore, not without ſome reſentment, took back his letter from the Hoppo, and told him, he would immediately ſend it to Canton in his own boat, and would give his officer poſitive orders not to return without an anſwer from the viceroy. The Hoppo perceiving the Commodore to be in earneſt, and fearing to be called to an account for his refuſal, begged to be entruſted with the letter, and promiſed to deliver it, and procure an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible. And now it was preſently ſeen how juſtly Mr Anſon had at laſt judged of the proper manner of dealing with the Chineſe; for this letter was written but the 17th of December, as hath been already obſerved, and, on the 19th in the morning, a Mandarine of the firſt rank, who was governor of the city of Janſon, together with two Mandarines of an inferior claſs, and a conſiderable retinue of officers and ſervants, having with them eighteen half gallies furniſhed with muſic, and decorated with a great number of ſtreamers, and full of men, came to grapnel a-head of the Centurion; whence the Mandarine ſent a meſſage to the Commodore, telling him that he (the Mandarine) was ordered by the viceroy of Canton to examine the condition of the ſhip; therefore deſiring the ſhip's boat might be ſent to fetch them on board. The Centurion's boat was immediately diſpatch-

ed, and preparations were made for receiving him; in particular, a hundred of the moſt ſightly of the crew were uniformly dreſſed, in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn up under arms, on the main deck, againſt his arrival. When he entered the ſhip, he was ſaluted by the drums, and what other military muſic there was on board: and paſſing by the new-formed guard, he was met by the Commodore on the quarter-deck, who conducted him to the great cabin. Here the Mandarine explained his commiſſion, declaring, that he was directed to examine all the articles mentioned in the Commodore's letter to the viceroy, and to confront them with the repreſentation that had been given of them: that he was, in the firſt place, inſtructed to inſpect the leak, and had, for that purpoſe, brought with him two Chineſe carpenters; and, that for the more regular diſpatch of his buſineſs, he had every head of enquiry ſeparately wrote down on a ſheet of paper, with a void ſpace oppoſite to it, where he was to inſert ſuch information, and remarks thereon, as he could procure by his own obſervation.

This Mandarine appeared to be a perſon of very conſiderable parts, and endowed with more frankneſs and honeſty than is to be found in the generality of the Chineſe. After the neceſſary inſpections had been made, particularly about the leak, which the Chineſe carpenters reported to be to the full as dangerous as it had been deſcribed, and conſequently, that it was impoſſible for the Centurion to proceed to ſea without being refitted, the Mandarine expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied with the account given in the Commodore's letter. And this magiſtrate, as he was more intelligent than any other perſon of his na-

tion that came to our knowledge, ſo likewiſe was he more curious and inquiſitive, viewing each part of the ſhip with extraordinary attention, and appearing greatly ſurpriſed at the largeneſs of the lower deck guns, and at the weight and ſize of the ſhot. The Commodore, obſerving his aſtoniſhment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the Chineſe of the prudence of granting him all his demands in the moſt ſpeedy and ample manner: he therefore told the Mandarine, and thoſe who were with him, that, beſides the requeſt he made for a general licence to furniſh himſelf with whatever his preſent ſituation required, he had a particular complaint to prefer againſt the proceedings of the cuſtom-houſe of Macao; that at his firſt arrival, the Chineſe boats had brought on board him plenty of greens, and variety of freſh proviſions for daily uſe; that, though they had always been paid to their full ſatisfaction, yet the cuſtom-houſe officers at Macao had ſoon forbid them; by which means he was deprived of thoſe refreſhments which were of the utmoſt conſequence to the health of his men, after their long and ſickly voyage; that as they, the Mandarines, had informed themſelves of his wants, and were eye-witneſſes of the force and ſtrength of his ſhip, they might be ſatisfied it was not, becauſe he had no power to ſupply himſelf, that he deſired the permiſſion of the government to purchaſe what proviſions he ſtood in need of, ſince he preſumed they were convinced that the Centurion alone, was capable of deſtroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or of any other port in China, without running the leaſt riſque, from all the force the Chineſe could collect: that it was true this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendſhip with each other; but it was likewiſe

true that it was not cuſtomary for any nation to permit the ſhips of their friends to ſtarve and ſink in their ports, when thoſe friends had money to purchaſe neceſſaries, and only deſired liberty to lay it out; that, they muſt confeſs, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modeſty and reſerve; but that, as his diſtreſſes were each day increaſing, famine would at laſt prove too ſtrong for any reſtraint, and neceſſity was acknowledged, in all countries, to be ſuperior to every other law; and therefore it could not be expected that his crew would long continue to ſtarve in the midſt of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witneſſes: to this the Commodore added (though perhaps with a leſs ſerious air) that if, by the delay of ſupplying him with proviſions, his men ſhould, from the impulſes of hunger, be obliged to turn cannibals, and to prey upon their own ſpecies, it was eaſy to be foreſeen, that, independent of their friendſhip to their comrades, they would, in point of luxury, prefer the plump well-fed Chineſe to their own emaciated ſhip-mates. The firſt Mandarine acquieſced in the juſtneſs of this reaſoning, and told the Commodore, that he ſhould that night proceed for Canton; that, on his arrival, a council of Mandarines would be ſummoned, of which he was a member, and that, by being employed in the preſent commiſſion, he was of courſe the Commodore's advocate; that, as he was himſelf fully convinced of the urgency of Mr Anſon's neceſſity, he did not doubt but, on the repreſentation he ſhould make of what he had ſeen, the council would be of the ſame opinion; and that all which was demanded would be amply and ſpeedily granted: that, with regard to the Commodore's complaint of the cuſtom-houſe of Macao, this he would undertake to rectify immedi-

ately by his own authority. And then, desiring a list to be given him of the quantity of provision necessary for the expence of the ship during one day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to see that quantity sent on board early every morning; which order, from that time forwards, was punctually complied with.

When this weighty affair was thus, in some degree, regulated, the Commodore invited him, and his two attendant Mandarines to dinner, telling them at the same time, that if his provision, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they must thank themselves for having confined him to so hard an allowance. One of his dishes was beef, which the Chinese all dislike, though Mr Anson was not apprised of it. This seems to be derived from the Indian superstition, which, for some ages past, has made a great progress in China. However his guests did not entirely fast; for the three Mandarines compleatly finished the white part of four large fowls. They were indeed extremely embarrassed with their knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making use of them; so that, after some fruitless attempts to help themselves, which were sufficiently awkward, one of the attendants was obliged to cut their meat in small pieces for them. But whatever difficulty they might have in complying with the European manner of eating, they seemed not to be novices at drinking. In this part of the entertainment the Commodore excused himself under the pretence of illness; but there being another gentleman present, of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief Mandarine clapped him on the shoulder, and told him, by the interpreter, that certainly he could not plead sickness, and therefore insist-

ed on his bearing him company; and that gentleman perceiving, that, after they had diſpatched four or five bottles of Frontiniac, the Mandarine ſtill continued unruffled, he ordered a bottle of citron water to be brought up, which the Chineſe ſeemed much to reliſh; and this being near finiſhed, they aroſe from table, in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drunk; and the Commodore having, according to cuſtom, made the Mandarine a preſent, they all departed in the ſame veſſels that brought them.

After their departure, the Commodore, with great impatience, expected the reſolution of the council, and the proper licences to enable him to refit the ſhip. For it muſt be obſerved, as hath already appeared from the preceding narration, that the Chineſe were forbid to have any dealings with him, ſo that he could neither purchaſe ſtores nor neceſſaries, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themſelves in his ſervice, until the permiſſion of the government was firſt obtained. And, in the execution of theſe particular injunctions, the magiſtrates never fail of exerciſing great ſeverity; ſince, notwithſtanding the fuſtian elogiums beſtowed upon them by the Romiſh miſſionaries reſiding in the Eaſt, and their European copiers, they are compoſed of the ſame fragil materials with the reſt of mankind, and often make uſe of the authority of the law, not to ſuppreſs crimes, but to enrich themſelves by the pillage of thoſe who commit them. This is the more eaſily effected in China, becauſe capital puniſhments are rare in that country; the effeminate genius of the nation, and their ſtrong attachment to lucre, diſpoſing them rather to make uſe of fines. And as from theſe there ariſes no inconſiderable profit to thoſe who compoſe their tribunals, it is obvious enough, that prohibitions

of all kinds, particularly ſuch as the alluring proſpect of great profit may often tempt the ſubject to infringe, cannot but be favourite inſtitutions in ſuch a government.

A ſhort time before this, Captain Saunders took his paſſage to England on board a Swediſh ſhip, and was charged with diſpatches from the Commodore; and, in the month of December, Captain Mitchell, Colonel Craherode, and Mr Taſwell, one of the agent victuallers, with his nephew Mr Charles Herriot, embarked on board ſome of our company's ſhips; and I having obtained the Commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them. I muſt obſerve too, having omitted it before, that, whilſt we lay at Macao, we were informed by the officers of our India-men, that the Severn and Pearl, the two ſhips of our ſquadron which had ſeparated from us off Cape Noir, were ſafely arrived at Rio Janeiro on the coaſt of Brazil. I have formerly taken notice, that, at the time of their ſeparation, we ſuſpected them to be loſt: and there were many reaſons which greatly favoured this ſuſpicion; for we knew that the Severn in particular was extremely ſickly, which was the more obvious to the reſt of the ſhips, as, in the preceding part of the voyage, her commander, Captain Legg, had been remarkable for his exemplary punctuality in keeping his ſtation; and yet, during the laſt ten days before his ſeparation, his crew was ſo diminiſhed and enfeebled, that, with his utmoſt efforts, he could not poſſibly maintain his proper poſition with his wonted exactneſs. The extraordinary ſickneſs on board him was, by many, imputed to the ſhip, which was new, and, on that account, was believed to be the more unhealthy; but, whatever was the cauſe of it, the Severn was, by much, the moſt ſickly of the ſqua-

dron: ſince, before her departure from St Catharine's, ſhe buried more men than any of them, inſomuch that the Commodore was obliged to recruit her with a number of freſh hands; and, the mortality ſtill continuing on board her, ſhe was ſupplied with men a ſecond time at ſea, after our ſetting ſail from St Julians; yet, notwithſtanding theſe different reinforcements, ſhe was, at laſt, reduced to the diſtreſſed condition I have already mentioned. Hence the Commodore himſelf firmly believed ſhe was loſt; and therefore it was with great joy we received the news of her and the Pearl's ſafety, after the ſtrong perſuaſion, which had ſo long prevailed amongſt us, of their having both periſhed. But, to proceed with the tranſactions between Mr Anſon and the Chineſe.

Notwithſtanding the favourable diſpoſition of the Mandarine governor of Janſon, at his leaving Mr Anſon, ſeveral days were elapſed before there was any advice from him, and Mr Anſon was privately informed there were great debates in council upon this affair; partly, perhaps, owing to its being ſo unuſual a caſe, and, in part, to the influence, as I ſuppoſe, of the intrigues of the French at Canton: for they had a countryman and faſt friend reſiding on the ſpot, who ſpoke the language well, and was not unacquainted with the venality of the government, nor with the perſons of ſeveral of the magiſtrates, and conſequently could not be at a loſs for means of traverſing the aſſiſtance deſired by Mr Anſon. Indeed this oppoſition of the French was not merely the effect of national prejudice, or a contrariety of political intereſts; but was, in good meaſure, owing to vanity, a motive of much more weight with the generality of mankind, than any attachment to the publick ſervice of the

community. For the French, pretending their India-men to be men of war, their officers were apprehenſive, that any diſtinction granted to Mr Anſon, on account of his bearing the King's commiſion, would render them leſs conſiderable in the eyes of the Chineſe, and would eſtabliſh prepoſſeſſions at Canton in favour of ſhips of war, by which they, as trading veſſels, would ſuffer in their importance. And I wiſh the affectation of endeavouring to paſs for men of war, and the fear of ſinking in the eſtimation of the Chineſe, if the Centurion was treated in a different manner from themſelves, had been confined to the officers of the French ſhips only. However, notwithſtanding all theſe obſtacles, it ſhould ſeem, that the repreſentation of the Commodore to the Mandarines, of the facility with which he could right himſelf, if juſtice were denied him, had, at laſt, its effect: ſince, on the 6th of January, in the morning, the governor of Janſon, the Commodore's advocate, ſent down the viceroy of Canton's warrant for the refitment of the Centurion, and for ſupplying her people with all they wanted. Having now the neceſſary licences, a number of Chineſe ſmiths and carpenters went on board the next day, to treat about the work they were to do; all which they propoſed to undertake by the great. They demanded at firſt, to the amount of a thouſand pounds Sterling for the repairs of the ſhip, the boats, and the maſts. This the Commodore ſeemed to think an unreaſonable ſum, and endeavoured to perſuade them to work by the day; but that was a method they would not hearken to; ſo it was at laſt agreed, that the carpenters ſhould have to the amount of about ſix hundred pounds for their work; and that the ſmiths ſhould be paid for the iron work by weight, allowing them at

the rate of three pounds a hundred nearly for the ſmall work, and forty-ſix ſhillings for the large.

This being regulated, the Commodore next exerted himſelf to get the moſt important buſineſs of the whole compleated; I mean, the heaving down the Centurion, and examining the ſtate of her bottom. The firſt lieutenant, therefore, was diſpatched to Canton, to hire two country-veſſels, called in their language Junks, one of them being intended to heave down by, and the other to ſerve as a magazine for the powder and ammunition: whilſt, at the ſame time, the ground was ſmoothed on one of the neighbouring iſlands, and a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and proviſions, and near a hundred Chineſe caulkers were ſoon ſet to work on the decks and ſides of the ſhip. But all theſe preparations, and the getting ready the careening gear, took up a great deal of time; for the Chineſe caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious. Beſides, it was the 26th of January before the junks arrived, and the neceſſary materials, which were to be purchaſed at Canton, came down very ſlowly; partly from the diſtance of the place, and partly from the delays and backwardneſs of the Chineſe merchants. And, in this interval, Mr Anſon had the additional perplexity to diſcover, that his fore-maſt was broken aſunder above the upper-deck partners, and was only kept together by the fiſhes which had been formerly clapt upon it.

However the Centurion's people made the moſt of their time, and exerted themſelves the beſt they could: and, as by clearing the ſhip, the carpenters were enabled to come at the leak, they took care to ſecure that effectually,

whilſt the other preparations were going forwards. The leak was found to be below the fifteen foot mark, and was principally occaſioned by one of the bolts being wore away and looſe in the joining of the ſtern, where it was ſcarfed.

At laſt, all things being prepared, they, on the 22d of February, in the morning, hove out the firſt courſe of the Centurion's ſtarboard-ſide, and had the ſatisfaction to find, that her bottom appeared ſound and good; and, the next day, (having, by that time, compleated the new ſheathing of the firſt courſe) they righted her again, to ſet up a-new the careening gear, which had ſtretched much. Thus they continued heaving down, and often righting the ſhip, from a ſuſpicion of their careening tackle, till the third of March, when, having compleated the paying and ſheathing of the bottom, which proved to be every where very ſound, they, for the laſt time, righted the ſhip, to their great joy; ſince not only the fatigue of careening had been conſiderable, but they had been apprehenſive of being attacked by the Spaniards, whilſt the ſhip was thus incapacitated for defence. Nor were their fears altogether groundleſs; for they learned afterwards, by a Portugueſe veſſel, that the Spaniards at Manila had been informed, that the Centurion was in the Typa, and intended to careen there; and that thereupon the Governor had ſummoned his council, and had propoſed to them to endeavour to burn her whilſt ſhe was careening, which was an enterpriſe which, if properly conducted, might have put them in great danger. It was farther reported, that this ſcheme was not only propoſed, but reſolved on; and that a captain of a veſſel had actually undertaken to perform the buſineſs for forty thouſand dollars,

which he was not to receive unleſs he ſucceeded; but the Governor pretending that there was no treaſure in the royal cheſt, and inſiſting that the merchants ſhould advance the money, and they refuſing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped. Perhaps the merchants ſuſpected that the whole was only a pretext to get forty thouſand dollars from them; and indeed this was affirmed by ſome who bore the Governor no good will, but with what truth, it is difficult to aſcertain.

As ſoon as the Centurion was righted, they took on board her powder, and gunners ſtores, and proceeded with getting in their guns as faſt as poſſible, and then uſed their utmoſt expedition in repairing the fore-maſt, and in compleating the other articles of her refitment. But, whilſt they were thus employed, they were alarmed on the 10th of March by a Chineſe fiſherman, who brought them intelligence, that he had been on board a large Spaniſh ſhip off the Grand Ladrone, and that there were two more in company with her. He added ſeveral particulars to his relation; as that he had brought one of their officers to Macao, and that, on this, boats went off early in the morning from Macao to them: and, the better to eſtabliſh the belief of his veracity, he ſaid, he deſired no money if his information ſhould not prove true. This was preſently believed to be the forementioned expedition from Manila; and the Commodore immediately fitted his cannon and ſmall arms in the beſt manner he could for defence; and having then his pinnace and cutter in the offing, who had been ordered to examine a Portugueſe veſſel which was getting under ſail, he ſent them the advice he had received, and directed them to look out ſtrictly. Indeed no Spaniſh ſhips ever

appeared, and they were ſoon ſatisfied the whole of the ſtory was a fiction; though it was difficult to conceive what reaſon could induce the fellow to be at ſuch extraordinary pains to impoſe upon them.

It was the beginning of April when they had new-rigged the ſhip, ſtowed their proviſions and water on board, and had fitted her for the ſea; and before this time the Chineſe grew very uneaſy, and extremely deſirous that ſhe ſhould be gone, either not knowing, or pretending not to believe, that this was a point the Commodore was as eagerly ſet on as they could be. At length, about the third of April, two Mandarine boats came on board from Macao, to preſs him to leave their ports: and this having been often urged before, though there had been no pretence to ſuſpect Mr Anſon of any affected delays, he, at this laſt meſſage, anſwered them in a determined tone, deſiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not ſooner. After this rebuke the Chineſe (though it was not in their power to compel him to depart) immediately prohibited all proviſions from being carried on board him, and took ſuch care their injunctions ſhou'd be complied with, that, from thenceforwards, nothing could be purchaſed at any rate whatever.

The 6th of April the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the ſouthward; and by the 15th, ſhe was got into Macao road, compleating her water as ſhe paſſed along, ſo that there remained now very few articles more to attend to; and, her whole buſineſs being finiſhed by the 19th, ſhe, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and made ſail, and ſtood to ſea.

CHAP. VIII.

From Macao to Cape Eſpiritu Santo: the taking of the Manila galeon, and returning back again.

THE Commodore was now got to ſea, with his ſhip well refitted, his ſtores repleniſhed, and an additional ſtock of poviſions on board: his crew too was ſomewhat reinforced: for he had entered twenty-three men during his ſtay at Macao, the greateſt part of them Laſcars, or Indian ſailors, and the reſt Dutch. He gave out at Macao, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the weſterly monſoon was now ſet in, when that paſſage is conſidered as impracticable, yet by the confidence he had expreſſed in the ſtrength of his ſhip, and the dexterity of his hands, he had perſuaded not only his own crew, but the people at Macao likewiſe, that he propoſed to try this unuſual experiment; ſo that there were many letters ſent on board him by the inhabitants of Canton and Macao for their friends at Batavia.

But his real deſign was of a very different nature. For he ſuppoſed, that, inſtead of one annual ſhip from Acapulco to Manila, there would be this year, in all probability, two; ſince, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to ſea the preceding ſeaſon. He therefore, not diſcouraged by his former diſaſters, reſolved again to riſk the caſualties of the Pacific ocean, and to cruiſe for theſe returning veſſels off Cape Eſpiritu Santo, on the iſland of Samal, which is the firſt land they always make at the Philippine iſlands: and as June is

generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he ſhould get to his intended ſtation time enough to intercept them. It is true, they were ſaid to be ſtout veſſels mounting forty-four guns a-piece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himſelf had but two hundred and twenty-ſeven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys. But this diſproportion of ſtrength did not deter him, as he knew his ſhip to be much better fitted for a ſea engagement than theirs, and as he had reaſon to expect that his men would exert themſelves after a moſt extraordinary manner, when they had in view the immenſe wealth of theſe Manila galeons.

This project the Commodore had reſolved on in his own thoughts, ever ſince his leaving the coaſt of Mexico. And the greateſt mortification which he received, from the various delays he had met with in China, was his apprehenſion leſt he might be thereby ſo long retarded as to let the galeons eſcape him. Indeed, at Macao, it was incumbent on him to keep theſe views extremely ſecret; for there being a great intercourſe, and a mutual connexion of intereſts between that port and Manila, he had reaſon to fear, that, if his deſigns were diſcovered, intelligence would be immediately ſent to Manila, and meaſures would be taken to prevent the galeons from falling into his hands. But, being now at ſea, and entirely clear of the coaſt, he ſummoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his reſolution to cruiſe for the two Manila ſhips, of whoſe wealth they were not ignorant: he told them he ſhould chuſe a ſtation where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were ſtout ſhips, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved

with their accuſtomed ſpirit, he was certain he ſhould prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at leaſt, could not fail of becoming his prize. He further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated, about the ſtrength of the ſides of theſe ſhips, and their being impenetrable to cannon ſhot: that theſe fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of thoſe who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of thoſe preſent weak enough to give credit to ſo abſurd a ſtory: for his own part, he did aſſure them, upon his word, that, whenever he fell in with them, he would fight them ſo near, that they ſhould find his bullets, inſtead of being ſtopped by one of their ſides, ſhould go through them both.

This ſpeech of the Commodore was received by his people with great joy: ſince no ſooner had he ended, than they expreſſed their approbation, according to naval cuſtom, by three ſtrenuous cheers, and declared their determination to ſucceed or periſh, whenever the opportunity preſented itſelf. Immediately too, their hopes, which, on their departure from the coaſt of Mexico, had entirely ſubſided, were again revived; and they perſuaded themſelves, that notwithſtanding the various caſualties and diſappointments they had hitherto met with, they ſhould yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and ſhould at laſt return home enriched with the ſpoils of the enemy. For firmly relying on the aſſurances of the Commodore, that they ſhould certainly meet with the galeons, they were all of them too ſanguine, to doubt a moment of maſtering them; ſo that they conſidered themſelves as having them already in their poſſeſſion. And this confidence was ſo univerſally ſpread

through the whole ſhip's company, that the Commodore, who had taken ſome Chineſe ſheep to ſea with him for his own proviſion, enquiring one day of his butcher, why he had lately ſeen no mutton at his table, and aſking him if all the ſheep were killed, the fellow very ſeriouſly replied, that there were indeed two ſheep left, butt hat if his honour would give him leave, he propoſed to keep thoſe for the entertainment of the general of the galeons.

When the Centurion left the port of Macao, ſhe ſtood for ſome time to the weſtward; and on the firſt of May they ſaw part of the iſland, of Formoſa, and ſteering thence to the ſouthward, they, on the fourth of May, were in the latitude of the Baſhee iſlands, as laid down by Dampier; but they ſuſpected his account of inaccuracy, as they knew that he had been conſiderably miſtaken in the latitude of the ſouth end of Formoſa: and therefore they kept a good look out, and about ſeven in the evening diſcovered from the maſt-head five ſmall iſlands, which were judged to be the Baſhees. As they afterwards ſaw Botel Tobago Xima, they by this means found an opportunity of correcting the poſition of the Baſhee iſlands, which had been hitherto laid down twenty-five leagues too far to the weſtward; for by their obſervations, they eſteemed the middle of theſe iſlands to be in 21° : 4' north, and to bear from Botel Tobago Xima S. S. E. twenty leagues diſtant, that iſland itſelf being in 21° : 57' north.

After getting a ſight of the Baſhee iſlands, they ſtood between the S. and S. W. for Cape Eſpiritu Santo; and the 20th of May at noon, they firſt diſcovered that cape, which about four o'clock they brought to bear S. S. W. near eleven leagues diſtant. It appeared to be of a moderate

height, with ſeveral round hummocks on it, and is exactly repreſented in the XLth plate. As it was known that there were centinels placed on this cape, to make ſignals to the Acapulco ſhip when ſhe firſt falls in with the land; the Commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top gallant ſails to be taken in, to prevent being diſcovered. And this being the ſtation where it was reſolved to cruiſe for the galeons, they kept the cape between the ſouth and the weſt, and endeavoured to confine themſelves between the latitude of 12° : 50′, and 13° : 5′, the cape itſelf lying, by their obſervations, in 12° : 40′ north and in 4° of eaſt longitude from Botel Tobago Xima.

It was the laſt of May by the foreign ſtile when they arrived off this cape; and the month of June by the ſame ſtile, being that in which the Manila ſhips are uſually expected, the Centurion's people were now waiting each hour with the utmoſt impatience for the happy criſis which was to balance the account of all their paſt calamities. As from this time there was but ſmall employment for the crew, the Commodore ordered them, almoſt every day, to be exerciſed in the working of the great guns, and in the uſe of their ſmall arms. This had been his practice more or leſs at every convenient ſeaſon, during the whole courſe of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galeon, were an ample recompence for all his care and attention. Indeed it ſhould ſeem, that there are few particulars of a Commander's duty of more importance, how much ſoever it may have been ſometimes overlooked or miſunderſtood: ſince it will, I ſuppoſe, be confeſſed, that in two ſhips of war, equal in the number of their men and guns, the diſproportion of ſtrength a-

riſing from a greater or leſs dexterity in the uſe of their great guns and ſmall arms, is what can ſcarcely be balanced by any other circumſtances whatever. For as theſe are the weapons with which they are to engage: what greater inequality can there be betwixt two contending parties, than that one ſide ſhould perfectly underſtand the management of them, and ſhould have the ſkill to employ them in the moſt effectual manner for the annoyance of their enemy; while the other ſide ſhould, by their aukward handling of their arms, render them rather terrible to themſelves, than miſchievous to their antagoniſts? This ſeems ſo obvious and natural a concluſion, that a perſon unaquainted with theſe matters would ſuppoſe the firſt care of a commander to be, the training his people to the ready uſe of their arms.

But human affairs are not always conducted by the plain dictates of common ſenſe. There are many other principles which influence our tranſactions; and there is one in particular, which, though of a very erroneous complexion, is ſcarcely ever excluded from our moſt ſerious deliberations; I mean cuſtom, or the practice of thoſe who have preceded us. This is uſually a power too mighty for reaſon to grapple with, and is often extremely troubleſome to thoſe who oppoſe it, ſince it has much of ſuperſtition in its nature, and purſues all thoſe who queſtion its authority with unrelenting vehemence. However, in theſe latter ages of the world, ſome lucky encroachments have been made upon its prerogative; and it may ſurely be expected, that the gentlemen of the navy, whoſe particular profeſſion hath within a few years been conſiderably improved by a number of new inventions, will of all others be the readieſt to give up any uſage which hath

nothing to plead in its behalf but preſcription, and will not ſuppoſe that every branch of their buſineſs hath already received all the perfection of which it is capable. Indeed it muſt be owned, that if a dexterity in the uſe of ſmall arms for inſtance, hath been ſometimes leſs attended to on board our ſhips of war than might have been wiſhed for, it hath been rather owing to unſkilful methods of teaching it, than to negligence; ſince the common ſailors, how ſtrongly ſoever attached to their own prejudices, are very quick-ſighted in finding out the defects of others, and have ever ſhewn a great contempt for the formalities practiſed in the training of land troops to the uſe of their arms. But when thoſe who have undertaken to inſtruct the ſeamen, have contented themſelves with inculcating only what was uſeful in the ſimpleſt manner, they have conſtantly found their people ſufficiently docile, and the ſucceſs hath even exceeded their expectation. Thus on board Mr Anſon's ſhip, where they were taught no more of the manual exerciſe than the ſhorteſt method of loading with cartridges, and were conſtantly trained to fire at a mark, which was uſually hung at the yard-arm, and where ſome little reward was given to the moſt expert, the whole crew by this management, were rendered extremely ſkilful. For beſides an uncommon readineſs in loading, they were all of them good markſmen, and ſome of them moſt extraordinary ones. Whence I doubt not but, in the uſe of ſmall arms, they were more than a match for double their number, who had not been habituated to the ſame kind of exerciſe. But to return:

It was the laſt of May, N. S. as hath been already ſaid, when the Centurion arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo; and conſequently the next day

the month began in which the galeons were to be expected. The Commodore therefore made all neceſſary preparations for receiving them, hoiſting out his long-boat, and laſhing her along ſide, that the ſhip might be ready for engaging, if they fell in with the galeons during the night. All this time too, he was very ſolicitous to keep at ſuch a diſtance from the cape as not to be diſcovered. But it hath been ſince learned, that notwithſtanding his care, he was ſeen from the land, and advice of him was ſent to Manila, where, though it was at firſt diſbelieved, yet on reiterated intelligence, (for it ſeems he was ſeen more than once) the merchants were alarmed, and the Governor was applied to, who undertook (the commerce ſupplying the neceſſary ſums) to fit out a force, conſiſting of two ſhips of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two ſloops of ten guns each, to attack the Centurion on her ſtation. With this view ſome of theſe veſſels actually weighed; but the principal ſhip not being ready, and the monſoon being againſt them, the commerce and the Governor diſagreed, ſo that the enterpriſe was laid aſide. This frequent diſcovery of the Centurion from the ſhore was ſomewhat extraordinary; ſince the pitch of the cape is not high, and ſhe uſually kept from ten to fifteen leagues diſtant, though once indeed, by an indraught of the tide, as was ſuppoſed, they found themſelves in the morning within ſeven leagues of the land.

As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the Commodore's people each day increaſed. And I think no better idea can be given of their great eagerneſs on this occaſion, than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer, who was then on board, as it will, I preſume, be a more natural picture

of the full attachment of their thoughts to the buſineſs of their cruiſe, than can be given by any other means. The paragraphs I have ſelected, as they occur in order of time, are as follow.

" May 31ſt, exerciſing our men at their quar-
" ters, in great expectation of meeting with the
" galeons very ſoon, this being the 11th of June
" their ſtile."

" June 3d, keeping in our ſtations, and look-
" ing out for the galeons."

" June 5th, begin to be now in great expec-
" tation, this being the middle of June their
" ſtile "

" June 11th, begin to grow impatient at not
" ſeeing the galeons."

" June 13th, the wind having blown freſh
" eaſterly for the forty-eight hours paſt, gives
" us great expectations of ſeeing the galeons
" ſoon."

" June 15th, cruiſing on and off, and look-
" ing out ſtrictly."

" June 19th, this being the laſt day of June
" N. S. the galeons, if they arrive at all, muſt
" appear ſoon."

From theſe ſamples it is ſufficiently evident how compleatly the treaſure of the galeons had engroſſed their imagination, and how anxiouſly they paſſed the latter part of their cruiſe; when the certainty of the arrival of thoſe veſſels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June O. S. being juſt a month after their gaining their ſtation, they were relieved out of this ſtate of uncertainty: for at ſun riſe, they diſcovered a ſail from the maſt-head, in the S. E. quarter. On this a general joy ſpread through the whole ſhip; for they had no doubt but this was one of the

galeons, and they expected ſoon to deſcry the other. The Commodore inſtantly ſtood towards her, and, at half an hour after ſeven, they were near enough to ſee her from the Centurion's deck; at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant ſails; this was ſuppoſed to be a ſignal to her conſort to haſten her up; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to the leeward to amuſe her. The Commodore was ſurpriſed to find, that during all this interval the galeon did not change her courſe, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed what afterwards appeared to be the caſe, that ſhe knew his ſhip to be the Centurion, and reſolved to fight him.

About noon the Commodore was little more than a league diſtant from the galeon, and could fetch her wake, ſo that ſhe could not now eſcape; and, no ſecond ſhip appearing, it was concluded that ſhe had been ſeparated from her conſort. Soon after the galeon haled up her fore-ſail, and brought to under top-ſails, with her head to the northward, hoiſting Spaniſh colours, and having the ſtandard of Spain flying at the top-gallant maſt-head. Mr Anſon, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the Centurion, and had taken every poſſible meaſure, both for the moſt effectual exertion of his ſmall ſtrength, and for the avoiding the confuſion and tumult, too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choiceſt hands, and beſt markſmen, whom he diſtributed into his tops, and who fully anſwered his expectation, by the ſignal ſervices they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining, to quarter a ſufficient number to each great gun, in the cuſtomary manner; he therefore, on his lower tire, fixed only two men to each gun, who

were to be ſolely employed in loading it, whilſt the reſt of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, who were continually moving about the decks, to run out and fire ſuch guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to muke uſe of all his guns; and inſtead of whole broad-ſides with intervals between them, he kept up a conſtant fire without intermiſſion, whence he doubted not to procure very ſignal advantages. For it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they ſee a broad-ſide preparing, and to continue in that poſture till it is given; after which they riſe again, and preſuming the danger to be for ſome time over, work their guns, and fire with great briſkneſs till another broad-ſide is ready: but the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the Commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impoſſible.

The Centurion being thus prepared, and nearing the galeon a-pace, there happened, a little after noon, ſeveral ſqualls of wind and rain, which often obſcured the galeon from their ſight; but, whenever it cleared up, they obſerved her reſolutely lying to. Towards one o'clock the Centurion hoiſted her broad pendant and colours, ſhe being then within gun-ſhot of the enemy; and the Commodore perceiving the Spainiards to have neglected clearing their ſhip till that time, as he ſaw them throwing over-board cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chace-guns, to diſturb them in their work, and prevent them from compleating it, though his general directions had been, not to engage before they were within piſtol ſhot. The galeon returned the fire with two of her ſtern chace: and, the Centurion getting her ſprit-ſail-yard fore and aft, that, if neceſſary, ſhe might be

ready for boarding, the Spaniards, in a bravado, rigged their ſprit-ſail-yard fore and aft likewiſe. Soon after, the Centurion came a-breaſt of the enemy within piſtol-ſhot, keeping to the leeward of them, with a view of preventing their putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were about ſeven leagues diſtant. And now the engagement began, in earneſt, and for the firſt half hour, Mr Anſon over-reached the galeon, and lay on her bow, where, by the great wideneſs of his ports, he could traverſe almoſt all his guns upon the enemy, whilſt the galeon could only bring a part of her's to bear. Immediately on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galeon had ſtuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen top. This accident, ſuppoſed to be cauſed by the Centurion's wads, threw the enemy into the uttermoſt terror, and alſo alarmed the Commodore, for he feared leſt the galeon ſhould be burnt, and leſt he himſelf too might ſuffer by her driving on board him. However, the Spaniards, at laſt, freed themſelves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole maſs, which was in flames, into the ſea. All this interval the Centurion kept her firſt advantagious poſition, firing her cannon with great regularity and briſkneſs, whilſt, at the ſame time, the galeon's decks lay open to her top-men, who having, at their firſt volley, driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havoc with their ſmall arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding, in particular, the general of the galeon himſelf. Thus the action proceeded for at leaſt half an hour; but then the Centurion loſt the ſuperiority ariſing from her origi-

nal ſituation, and was cloſe along-ſide the galeon, and the enemy continued to fire briſkly for near an hour longer; yet, even in this poſture, the Commodore's grape-ſhot ſwept their decks ſo effectually, and the number of their ſlain and wounded became ſo conſiderable, that they began to fall into great diſorder, eſpecially as the general, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himſelf. Their confuſion was viſible from on board the Commodore. For the ſhips were ſo near, that ſome of the Spaniſh officers were ſeen running about with much aſſiduity, to prevent the deſertion of their men from their quarters; but all their endeavours were in vain: for after having, as a laſt effort, fired five or ſix guns with more judgment than uſual, they yielded up the conteſt; and, the galeon's colours being ſinged off the enſign ſtaff in the beginning of the engagement, ſhe ſtruck the ſtandard at her main-top-gallant-maſt-head; the perſon who was employed to perform this office having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the Commodore, who perceived what he was about, given expreſs orders to his people to deſiſt from firing.

Thus was the Centurion poſſeſſed of this rich prize, amounting, in value, to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the Noſtra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by general Don Jeronima de Mentero, a Portugueſe, who was the moſt approved officer for ſkill and courage of any employed in that ſervice. The galeon was much larger than the Centurion, and had five hundred and fifty men, and thirty-ſix guns mounted for action, beſides twenty-eight pedreroes in her gun-wale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four-pound ball. She was very well furniſhed with

ſmall arms, and was particularly provided againſt boarding, both by her cloſe quarters, and by a ſtrong net-work of two inch rope, which was laced over her waſte, and was defended by half pikes. She had ſixty-ſeven killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilſt the Centurion had only two killed, and a Lieutenant and ſixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered: of ſo little conſequence are the moſt deſtructive arms in untutored and unpractiſed hands.

The treaſure thus taken by the Centurion having been, for at leaſt eighteen months, the great object of their hopes, it is impoſſible to deſcribe the tranſport on board, when, after all their reiterated diſappointments, they at laſt ſaw their wiſhes accompliſhed. But their joy was near being ſuddenly damped by a moſt tremenduous incident: for, no ſooner had the galeon ſtruck, than one of the lieutenants coming to Mr Anſon to congratulate him on his prize, whiſpered him, at the ſame time, that the Centurion was dangerouſly on fire near the powder-room. The Commodore received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and, taking care not to alarm his people, gave the neceſſary orders for extinguiſhing the fire, which was happily done in a ſhort time, though its appearance at firſt was extremely terrible. It ſeems ſome cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, and the blaſt had communicated its flame to a quantity of oakum in the after-hatch-way, near the after-powder room, where the great ſmother and ſmoke of the oakum occaſioned the apprehenſion of a more extended and miſchievous conflagration: all hopes too, of avoiding its fury, by eſcaping on board the prize, had inſtantly vaniſhed; for, at the ſame moment, the galeon

fell on board the Centurion on the ſtarboard quarter, though ſhe was fortunately cleared, without doing or receiving any conſiderable damage.

The Commodore appointed the Manila veſſel to be a poſt ſhip in his majeſty's ſervice, and gave the command of her to Mr Saumarez, his firſt lieutenant, who, before night, ſent on board the Centurion all the Spaniſh priſoners, except ſuch as were thought the moſt proper to be retained to aſſiſt in navigating the galeon. And now the Commodore learned, from ſome of theſe priſoners, that the other ſhip which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, inſtead of returning in company with the preſent prize, as was expected, had ſet ſail from Acapulco alone, much ſooner than uſual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of Manila long before the Centurion arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo; ſo that Mr Anſon, notwithſtanding his preſent ſucceſs, had great reaſon to regret his loſs of time at Macao, which prevented him from taking two rich prizes inſtead of one.

The Commodore when the action was ended, reſolved to make the beſt of his way with his prize for the river of Canton, being the mean time fully employed in ſecuring his priſoners, and in removing the treaſure from on board the galeon into the Centurion. The laſt of theſe operations was too important to be poſtponed; for as the navigation to Canton was through ſeas but little known, and where, from the ſeaſon of the year, very tempeſtuous weather might be expected, it was of great conſequence that the treaſure ſhould be ſent on board the Centurion, which ſhip, by the preſence of the commander in chief, the larger number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtleſs better provided againſt all the caſualties of winds and ſeas

than the galeon; and the ſecuring the priſoners was a matter of ſtill more conſequence, as not only the poſſeſſion of the treaſure, but the lives of the captors depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the Commodore much trouble and diſquietude, for they were above double the number of his own people; and ſome of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, and had obſerved how ſlenderly ſhe was manned, and the large proportion which the ſtriplings bore to the reſt, could not help expreſſing themſelves with great indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The Method which was taken to hinder them from riſing was, by placing all but the officers and the wounded in the hold, where to give them as much air as poſſible, two hatch-ways were left open; but then (to avoid any danger that might happen, whilſt the Centurion's people ſhould be employed upon deck) there was a ſquare partition of thick planks made in the ſhape of a funnel, which incloſed each hatch-way on the lower-deck, and reached to that directly over it on the upper-deck; theſe funnels ſerved to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them, and, at the ſame time, added greatly to the ſecurity of the ſhip; for they being ſeven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to have clambered up; and, ſtill to augment that difficulty, four ſwivel guns loaded with muſquet-bullets, were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a centinel with lighted match, was poſted there, ready to fire into the hold amongſt them, in caſe of any diſturbance. Their officers, who amounted to ſeventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the firſt lieutenant's cabin, under a guard of ſix men; and the general, as he was wounded, lay in the

Commodore's cabin, with a centinel always with him: every priſoner too was ſufficiently appriſed, that any violence or diſturbance would be puniſhed with inſtant death. And, that the Centurion's people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithſtanding theſe regulations, any tumult ſhould ariſe, the ſmall arms were conſtantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilſt all the men went armed with cutlaſſes and piſtols; and no officer pulled off his clothes when he ſlept, or, when he lay down, omitted to have his arms always ready by him.

Theſe meaſures were obviouſly neceſſary, conſidering the hazards to which the Commodore and his people would have been expoſed, had they been leſs careful. Indeed the ſufferings of the poor priſoners, though impoſſible to be alleviated, were much to be commiſerated; for the weather was extremely hot, the ſtench of the hold loathſome beyond all conception, and their allowance of water but juſt ſufficient to keep them alive, it not being practicable to ſpare them more than at the rate of a pint a day for each, the crew themſelves having only an allowance of a pint and a half. All this conſidered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded, who expired the ſame night they were taken; though it muſt be confeſſed, that the greateſt part of them were ſtrangely metamorphoſed by the heat of the hold; for when they were firſt brought on board they were ſightly robuſt fellows; but when, after above a month's impriſonment, they were diſcharged in the river of Canton, they were reduced to mere ſkeletons; and their air and looks correſponded much more to the conception formed of ghoſts and ſpectres, than to the figure and appearance of real men.

Thus employed in ſecuring the treaſure and the priſoners, the Commodore, as hath been ſaid, ſtood for the river of Canton; and on the 30th of June, at ſix in the evening, got ſight of Cape Delangano, which then bore weſt ten leagues diſtant. The next day he made the Baſhee iſlands, and the wind being ſo far to the northward that it was difficult to weather them, it was reſolved to ſtand through between Grafton and Monmouth iſlands, where the paſſage ſeemed to be clear, though in getting through, the ſea had a very dangerous aſpect, for it ripled and foamed, with all the appearances of being full of breakers, which was ſtill more terrible as it was then night. But the ſhips got through very ſafe, the prize keeping a-head; and it was found, that the agitation of the ſea, which had alarmed them, had been occaſioned only by a ſtrong tide. I muſt here obſerve, that though the Baſhee iſlands are uſually reckoned to be no more than five, yet, there are many more lying about them to the weſtward, which ſeeing the channels amongſt them, are not at all known, makes it adviſable for ſhips rather to paſs to the northward or ſouthward than through them; as indeed the Commodore propoſed to have gone to the northward, between them and Formoſa, had it been poſſible for him to have weathered them. From hence the Centurion ſteering the proper courſe for the river of Canton, ſhe on the 8th of July, diſcovered the iſland of Supata, the weſtermoſt of the Lema iſlands, being the double peaked rock particularly delineated in the view of the iſlands of Lema, formerly referred to. This iſland of Supata they made to be a hundred and thirty-nine leagues diſtant from Grafton's iſland, and to bear from it north 82° : 37′ weſt: and on the 11th, having taken on board two Chineſe pilots, one

for the Centurion, and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

By this time the particulars of the cargo of the galeon were well aſcertained; and it was found, that ſhe had on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 oz. of virgin ſilver, beſides ſome cochineal, and a few other commodities, which, however, were but of ſmall account in compariſon of the ſpecie. And this being the Commodore's laſt prize, it hence appears, that all the treaſure taken by the Centurion, was not much ſhort of L. 400,000 independent of the ſhips and merchandize, which ſhe either burnt or deſtroyed, and which, by the moſt reaſonable eſtimation, could not amount to ſo little as L. 600,000 more; ſo that the whole damage done the enemy by our ſquadron did doubtleſs exceed a million ſterling. To which if there be added the great expence of the court of Spain, in fitting out Pizarro, and in paying the additional charges in America, iucurred on our account, together with the loſs of their men of war, the total of all theſe articles will be a moſt exorbitant ſum; and is the ſtrongeſt conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with all its numerous diſadvantages, did yet prove ſo extremely prejudicial to the enemy. I ſhall only add, that there was taken on board the galeon ſeveral draughts and journals, from ſome of which many of the particulars recited in the tenth chapter of the ſecond book are collected. Among the reſt there was found a chart of all the ocean between the Philippines and the coaſt of Mexico, which was what was made uſe of by the galeon in her own navigation. A copy of this draught corrected in ſome places by our own obſervations, is here annexed, together with the route of the galeon, traced thereon from her own journals, and likewiſe the route of the Centurion through the

ſame ocean. This is the chart formerly referred to in the account of the Manila trade: but to render it ſtill more complete, the obſerved variation of the needle is annexed to ſeveral parts, both of the Spaniſh and Engliſh track; which addition is of the greateſt conſequence, as no obſervations of this kind, in the northern parts of the Pacific ocean, have yet to my knowledge been publiſhed; and as the quantity of that variation ſo nearly correſponds to what Dr Hally predicted from his theory above fifty years ago. With this digreſſion I ſhall end this chapter, and leave the Centurion and her prize at anchor off Macao, preparing to enter the river of Canton.

CHAP. IX.

Tranſactions in the river of Canton.

THE Commodore having taken pilots on board, proceeded with his prize for the river of Canton: and, on the 14th of July, caſt anchor ſhort of the Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow paſſage forming the mouth of that river. This entrance he propoſed to ſtand through the next day, and to run up as far as Tiger iſland, which is a very ſafe road, ſecured from all winds. But, whilſt the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer was ſent off from the Mandarine, commanding the forts at Bocca Tigris to examine what the ſhips were, and whence they came. Mr Anſon informed the officer, that his own ſhip was a man of war belonging to the King of Great-Britain, and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that

he was going into Canton river to ſhelter himſelf againſt the hurricanes which were then approaching, and that as ſoon as the monſoon ſhifted, he ſhould ſet ſail for England. The officer then deſired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition were on board, a liſt of all which, he ſaid, was to be ſent to the government of Canton. But when theſe articles were repeated to him, particularly upon his being told that there were in the Centurion four hundred firelocks and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, and ſeemed to be terrified with the bare recital, ſaying, that no ſhip ever came into Canton river armed in that manner; adding, that he durſt not ſet down the whole of this force, leſt it ſhould too much alarm the regency. After he had finiſhed his enquiries, and was preparing to depart, he deſired to leave two cuſtom-houſe officers behind him; on which the Commodore told him, that though, as a man of war, he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with cuſtoms or duties of any kind; yet for the ſatisfaction of the Chineſe, he would permit two of their people to be left on board, who might themſelves be witneſſes how punctually he ſhould comply with his inſtructions. The officer ſeemed amazed when Mr Anſon mentioned being exempted from all duties; and anſwered, that the Emperor's duty muſt be paid by every ſhip that came into his ports. And it is ſuppoſed that, on this occaſion, private directions were given by him to the Chineſe pilot, not to carry the Commodore through the Bocca Tigris, which makes it neceſſary more particularly to deſcribe that entrance.

The Bocca Tigris is a narrow paſſage, little more than muſquet-ſhot over, formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort; that on the ſtarboard-ſide being a battery on the water's edge, with eighteen embraſures, but where there were no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, ſeeming to be four or ſix pounders; the fort on the larboard-ſide is a large caſtle, reſembling thoſe old buildings which here in England we often find diſtinguiſhed by that name; it is ſituated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furniſhed with more than eight or ten cannon, none of which were ſuppoſed to exceed ſix pounders. Theſe are the defences which ſecure the river of Canton, and which the Chineſe (extremely defective in all military ſkill) have imagined were ſufficient to prevent an enemy from forcing his way through.

But it is obvious, from the deſcription of theſe forts, that they could have given no obſtruction to Mr Anſon's paſſage, even if they had been well ſupplied with gunners and ſtores; and therefore, though the pilot, after the Chineſe officer had been on board, refuſed at firſt to take charge of the ſhip, till he had leave from the forts; yet, as it was neceſſary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather which was hourly expected, the Commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the pilot to carry him by the forts, threatning him that if the ſhip ran a-ground he would inſtantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The pilot, awed by theſe threats, carried the ſhip through ſafely, the forts not attempting to diſpute the paſſage. Indeed the poor pilot did not eſcape the reſentment of his countrymen; for when he came on ſhore, he was ſeized and ſent to priſon, and was rigorouſly diſciplined with the bamboo. How-

ever, he found means to get at Mr Anſon afterwards, to deſire of him ſome recompence for the chaſtiſement he had undergone, and of which he carried very ſignificant marks about him; Mr Anſon, therefore, in commiſeration of his ſufferings, gave him ſuch a ſum of money, as would at any time have inticed a Chineſe to have undergone a dozen baſtinadings.

Nor was the pilot the only perſon that ſuffered on this occaſion; for the Commodore, ſoon after, ſeeing ſome royal junks paſs by him from Bocca Tigris towards Canton, he learned on inquiry that the Mandarine commanding the forts was a priſoner on board them, that he was already turned out, and was now carrying to Canton, where it was expected he would be ſeverely puniſhed for having permitted the ſhips to paſs. Upon the Commodore's urging the unreaſonableneſs of this procedure, from the inability of the forts to have done otherwiſe, and explaining to the Chineſe the great ſuperiority his ſhips would have had over the forts, by the number and ſize of their guns; the Chineſe ſeemed to acquieſce in his reaſoning, and allowed, that their forts could not have ſtopped him; but they ſtill aſſerted, that the Mandarine would infallibly ſuffer, for not having done what all his judges were convinced was impoſſible. To ſuch indefenſible abſurdities are thoſe obliged to ſubmit, who think themſelves concerned to ſupport their authority, when the neceſſary force is wanting. But to return.

On the 16th of July, the Commodore ſent his ſecond lieutenant to Canton, with a letter to the Viceroy, informing him of the reaſon of the Centurion's putting into that port; and that the Commodore himſelf ſoon propoſed to repair to Canton, to pay a viſit to his excel-

lency. The lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promiſed that an anſwer ſhould be ſent to the Commodore the next day. In the mean time Mr Anſon gave leave to ſeveral of the officers of the galeon to go to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When theſe priſoners got to Canton, the regency ſent for them and examined them, enquiring, particularly, by what means they came into Mr Anſon's power. It luckily happened, that, on this occaſion, the priſoners were honeſt enough to declare, that as the Kings of Great-Britain and Spain were at war, they had propoſed to themſelves the taking of the Centurion, and had bore down upon her with that view, but that the event had been contrary to their hopes. And, being queſtioned as to their uſage on board, they frankly acknowledged that they had been treated by the Commodore much better than they believed they ſhould have treated him, had he fallen into their hands. This confeſſion from an enemy had great weight with the Chineſe, who, till then, though they had revered the Commodore's military force, had yet ſuſpected his morals, and had conſidered him rather as a lawleſs free-booter, than as one commiſſioned by the ſtate for the revenge of public injuries. But they now changed their opinion, and regarded him as a more important perſon; to which, perhaps, the vaſt treaſure of his prize might not a little contribute; the acquiſition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the eſteem and reverence of the Chineſe nation.

In this examination of the Spaniſh priſoners, though the Chineſe had no reaſon in the main to doubt of the account which was given them, yet there were two circumſtances which appeared to them ſo ſingular, as to deſerve a more am-

ple explanation; one of them was the great diſproportion of men between the Centurion and the galeon; the other was, the humanity with which the people of the galeon were treated after they were taken. The Mandarines therefore aſked the Spaniards, how they came to be overpowered by ſo inferior a force? and how it happened, ſince the two nations were at war, that they were not put to death when they fell into the hands of the Engliſh? To the firſt of the enquiries the Spaniards anſwered, that though they had more men than the Centurion, yet ſhe being intended ſolely for war, had a great ſuperiority in the ſize of her guns, and in many other articles, over the galeon, which was a veſſel fitted out principally for traffic: and, as to the ſecond queſtion, they told the Chineſe, that amongſt the nations of Europe, it was not cuſtomary to put to death thoſe who ſubmitted; though they readily owned, that the Commodore from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both them and their countrymen, who had formerly been in his power, with very unuſual courteſy, much beyond what they could have expected, or than was required by the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed between nations at war with each other. Theſe replies fully ſatisfied the Chineſe, and, at the ſame time wrought very powerfully in the Commodore's favour.

On the 20th of July, in the morning, three Mandarines with a great number of boats, and a vaſt retinue, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the Commodore the Viceroy of Canton's order for a daily ſupply of proviſions, and for pilots to carry the ſhips up the river as far as the ſecond bar; and, at the ſame time, they delivered him a meſſage from the Viceroy, in anſwer to that ſent to Canton. The ſubſtance of

the meſſage was, that the Viceroy deſired to be excuſed from receiving the Commodore's viſit during the then exceſſive hot weather; becauſe the aſſembling the Mandarines and ſoldiers neceſſary to that ceremony, would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing; but that, in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he ſhould be glad to ſee both the Commodore himſelf, and the Engliſh captain of the other ſhip that was with him. As Mr Anſon knew that an expreſs had been diſpatched to the court at Pekin, with an account of the Centurion and her prize being arrived in the river of Canton, he had no doubt but the principal motive for putting off this viſit was, that the regency of Canton might gain time to receive the Emperor's inſtructions about their behaviour on this unuſual affair.

When the Mandarines had delivered their meſſage, they began to talk to the Commodore about the duties to be paid by his ſhips: but he immediately told them, that he would never ſubmit to any demand of that kind; that, as he neither brought any merchandiſe thither, nor intended to carry any away, he cou d not be reaſonably deemed within the meaning of the emperor's orders, which were doubtleſs calculated for trading veſſels only; adding that no duties were ever demanded of men of war, by nations accuſtomed to their reception, and that his maſter's orders expreſsly forbad him from paying any acknowledgment for his ſhips anchoring in any port whatever.

The Mandarines being thus cut ſhort on the ſubject of the duty, they ſaid they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was a requeſt to the Commodore that he would releaſe the

priſoners he had taken on board the galeon; for that the Viceroy of Canton apprehended the emperor, his maſter, might be diſpleaſed, if he ſhould be informed that perſons, who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his ſubjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr Anſon was himſelf extremely deſirous to get rid of the Spaniards, having, on his firſt arrival, ſent about an hundred of them to Macao, and thoſe who remained, which were near four hundred more, were on many accounts a great incumbrance to him. However, to inhance the favour, he at firſt raiſed ſome difficulties: but, permitting himſelf to be prevailed on, he, at laſt, told the Mandarines, that to ſhow his readineſs to oblige the Viceroy, he would releaſe the priſoners, whenever they, the Chineſe, would order boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjuſted, the Mandarines departed; and, on the 28th of July, two Chineſe junks were ſent from Canton to take on board the priſoners, and to carry them to Macao. And the Commodore, agreeable to his promiſe, diſmiſſed them all, and directed his purſer to allow them eight days proviſion for their ſubſiſtence during their ſailing down the river; ſince before they were diſpatched, the Centurion war arrived at her moorings, above the ſecond bar; where ſhe and her prize propoſed to continue till the monſoon ſhifted.

Though the ſhips, in conſequence of the Viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchaſing proviſions for their daily conſumption; yet it was impoſſible the Commodore could proceed to England, without laying in a large quantity both of proviſions and naval ſtores for his uſe during the voyage. The procuring this ſupply was attended with much perplexity; for there were people at Canton who had undertaken to furniſh

him with biſcuit, and whatever elſe he wanted; and his linguiſt, towards the middle of September, had aſſured him from day to day, that all was ready, and would be ſent on board him immediately. But a fortnight being elapſed, and nothing brought, the Commodore ſent to Canton, to enquire more particulary into the reaſons of this diſappointment: and he had ſoon the vexation to be informed, that the whole was an illuſion; that no order had been procured from the Viceroy, to furniſh him with his ſea-ſtores, as had been pretended; that there was no biſcuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readineſs, which had been promiſed him, nor did it appear that the contractors had taken the leaſt ſtep to comply with their agreement. This was moſt diſagreeable news, and made it ſuſpected, that the furniſhing the Centurion for her return to Great Britain might prove a more troubleſome matter than had been hitherto imagined, eſpecially too, as the month of September was nearly ended, without Mr Anſon's having received any meſſage from the Viceroy of Canton.

And here, perhaps it might be expected, that a ſatisfactory account ſhould be given of the motives of the Chineſe for this faithleſs procedure. However, as I have already, in a former chapter, made ſome kind of conjectures about a ſimilar event, I ſhall not repeat them again in this place; but ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that, after all, it may perhaps be impoſſible for an European, ignorant of the cuſtoms and manners of that nation, to be fully appriſed of the real incitements to this behaviour. Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be aſſerted, that, in artifice, falſhood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre, many of the Chineſe are difficult to be parallelled by any other people. But then, the particular application of theſe talents, and the

manner in which they operate on every emergency, are often beyond the reach of a foreigner's penetration: ſo that, though it may be ſurely concluded that the Chineſe had ſome intereſt in thus amuſing the Commodore, yet it may not be eaſy to aſſign the individual views by which they were influenced. And, that I may not be thought too ſevere, in aſcribing to this nation a fraudulent and ſelfiſh turn of temper, ſo contradictory to the character given of them in the legendary accounts of the Romiſh miſſionaries, I ſhall here mention an extraordinary tranſaction or two, which I conceive will be ſome kind of confirmation of what I have advanced.

When the Commodore lay firſt at Macao, one of his officers, who had been extremely ill, deſired leave of him to go on ſhore every day on a neighbouring iſland, imagining that a walk upon the land would contribute greatly to the reſtoring of his health. The Commodore would have diſſuaded him from it, ſuſpecting the tricks of the Chineſe; but the officer continuing importunate, in the end the boat was ordered to carry him thither. The firſt day he was put on ſhore he took his exerciſe, and returned without receiving any moleſtation, or even ſeeing any of the inhabitants; but the ſecond day he was aſſaulted, juſt after his arrival, by a great number of Chineſe, who had been hoeing rice in the neighbourhood, and who beat him ſo violently with the handles of their hoes, that they ſoon laid him on the ground, incapable of reſiſtance; after which they robbed him, taking from him his ſword, the hilt of which was ſilver; his money, his watch, gold-headed cane, ſnuff-box, ſleeve-buttons, and hat, with ſeveral other trinkets. In the mean time the boat's crew, who were at a little diſtance, and had no arms of any kind with them, were incapable of giving him any relief;

till at laſt, one of them flew on the fellow who had the ſword in his poſſeſſion, and wreſting it out of his hands, drew it, and was preparing to fall on the Chineſe, ſome of whom he could not have failed of killing; but the officer, perceiving what he was about, immediately ordered him to deſiſt, thinking it more prudent to ſubmit to the preſent violence, than to embroil his commander in an inextricable ſquabble with the Chineſe government, by the death of their ſubjects; which calmneſs in this gentleman was the more meritorious, as he was known to be a perſon of an uncommon ſpirit, and of a ſomewhat haſty temper. By this means the Chineſe ſpeedily recovered the poſſeſſion of the ſword, when they perceived it was prohibited to be made uſe of againſt them, and carried off their whole booty unmoleſted. No ſooner were they gone, than a Chineſe on horſe-back, very well dreſſed, and who had the air and appearance of a gentleman, came down to the ſea-ſide, and, as far as could be underſtood by his ſigns, ſeemed to cenſure the conduct of his countrymen, and to commiſerate the officer, being wonderfully officious to aſſiſt in getting him on board the boat: but notwithſtanding this behaviour, it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected that he was an accomplice in the theft, and time fully made out the juſtice of thoſe ſuſpicions.

When the boat returned on board, and the officer reported what had paſſed to the Commodore, he immediately complained of it to the Mandarine who attended to ſee his ſhip ſupplied; but the Mandarine coolly obſerved, that the boat ought not to have gone on ſhore, promiſing, however, that if the thieves could be found, they ſhould be puniſhed: though it appeared plain enough, by his manner of anſwering, that he would never give himſelf any trouble in ſearching them out. However, a conſiderable time af-

terwards, when ſome Chineſe boats were ſelling proviſions to the Centurion, the perſon who had wreſted the ſword from the Chineſe came with eagerneſs to the Commodore, to aſſure him that one of the principal thieves was then in a proviſion boat along ſide the ſhip: and the officer who had been robbed, viewing the fellow on this report, and well remembering his face, orders were immediately given to ſeize him; and he was accordingly ſecured on board the ſhip, where ſtrange diſcoveries were now made.

This thief, on his being firſt apprehended, expreſſed ſo much fright in his countenance, that it was feared he would have died upon the ſpot; the Mandarine too, who attended the ſhip, had viſibly no ſmall ſhare of concern on the occaſion. Indeed he had reaſon enough to be alarmed, ſince it was ſoon apparent that he had been privy to the whole robbery; for the Commodore declaring that he would not deliver up the thief, but would himſelf order him to be ſhot, the Mandarine immediately put off the magiſterial air, with which he had at firſt pretended to demand him, and begged his releaſe in the moſt abject manner. But the Commodore ſeeming to be inflexible, there came on board in leſs than two hours time, five or ſix of the neighbouring Mandarines, who all joined in the ſame entreaty; and with a vew of facilitating their ſuit, offered a large ſum of money for the fellow's liberty. Whilſt they were thus ſoliciting, it was diſcovered that the Mandarine, the moſt active amongſt them, and who was thence preſumed to be the moſt intereſted in the event, was the very gentleman who rode up to the officer, juſt after the robbery, and who pretended to be ſo much diſpleaſed at the villainy of his countrymen. On further enquiry it was alſo found, that he was the Mandarine of the iſland, and that he had, by

the authority of his office, ordered the peaſants to commit that infamous action. This eaſily accounted for his extraordinary vigilance in the preſent conjuncture; ſince as far as could be collected from the broken hints which were caſually thrown out, it ſeemed, that he and his brethren, who were every one privy to the tranſaction, were terrified with the fear of being called before the tribunal at Canton, where the firſt article of their puniſhment would be, the ſtripping them of all they were worth; though their judges (however fond of inflicting a chaſtiſement ſo lucrative to themſelves) were, perhaps, of as tainted a complexion as the delinquents. Mr Anſon was not diſpleaſed to have caught the Chineſe in this dilemma; he entertained himſelf for ſome time with their perplexity, rejecting their money with ſcorn, appearing inexorable to their prayers, and giving out that the thief ſhould certainly be ſhot; but as he then fore-ſaw that he ſhould be obliged to take ſhelter in their ports a ſecond time, when the influence he might hereby acquire over the magiſtrates would be of great ſervice to him, he at length permitted himſelf to be perſuaded, and, as a favour, releaſed his priſoner; though not till the Mandarine had collected and returned all that had been ſtolen from the officer even to the minuteſt trifle.

But, notwithſtanding this inſtance of the good intelligence between the magiſtrates and criminals, the ſtrong addiction of the Chineſe to lucre often promps them to break through this awful confederacy, and puts them on defrauding the authority that protects them, of its proper quota of the pillage. For, not long after the above-mentioned tranſaction (the former Mandarine, attendant on the ſhip, being in the mean time relieved by another) the Commodore loſt a top-maſt from his ſtern, which on the moſt dili-

gent enquiry, could not be traced out. As it was not his own, but had been borrowed at Macao to heave down by, and was not to be replaced in that part of the world, he was extremely deſirous to recover it, and publiſhed a conſiderable reward to any one who would bring it him again. There were ſuſpicions, from the firſt, of its being ſtollen, which made him conclude, that a reward was the liklieſt method of getting it back. Hereupon, ſoon after, the Mandarine informed him, that ſome of his the Mandarine's attendants, had found the top-maſt, deſiring the Commodore to ſend his boats to fetch it, which being done, the Mandarine's people received the promiſed reward. It ſeems the Commodore had told the Mandarine, that he would make him a preſent beſides, on account of the care he had taken in directing it to be ſearched for; and accordingly Mr Anſon gave a ſum of money to his linguiſt, to be delivered to the Mandarine; but the linguiſt knowing that the Chineſe had been paid, and ignorant that a further preſent had been promiſed, kept the money himſelf. However, the Mandarine, fully confiding in Mr Anſon's word, and ſuſpecting the linguiſt, he took occaſion one morning to admire the ſize of the Centurion's maſts, and thence on a pretended ſudden recollection, he made a digreſſion to the top-maſt which had been loſt, and aſked Mr Anſon if he had not got it again. Mr Anſon preſently perceived the bent of his converſation, and enquired of him if he had not received the money from the linguiſt, and, finding he had not, he offered to pay it him upon the ſpot. But this the Mandarine refuſed, having now ſomewhat more in view than the ſum which had been detained; for, the next day, the linguiſt was ſeized, and was doubtleſs mulcted of whatever he had gotten in the Commodore's

ſervice, which was ſuppoſed to be little leſs than two thouſand dollars, being beſides ſo ſeverely baſtinadoed, that it was wonderful he eſcaped with his life. And when he was upbraided by the Commodore (to whom he afterwards came a-begging) with his folly in riſking his ſevere chaſtiſement, and the loſs of all he was worth, for the lucre of fifty dollars, the preſent of which he defrauded the Mandarine: he had no other excuſe to make, than the ſtrong bias of his nation to diſhoneſty, replying, in his broken jargon, "Chineſe man very great rogue truly, but have "faſhion, no can help."

It were endleſs to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds, which were practiſed on the Commodore and his people by this intereſted race. The method of buying proviſions in China being by weight, the tricks the Chineſe made uſe of to augment the weight of what they ſold to the Centurion were almoſt incredible. One time a large quantity of fouls and ducks being brought for the ſhip's ſtore, the greateſt part of them preſently died; this ſpread a general alarm on board, it being apprehended that they had been killed by poiſon; but, on examination, it appeared that it was only owing to their being crammed with ſtones and gravel to increaſe their weight, the quantity thus forced into moſt of the ducks being found to amount to ten ounces in each. The hogs too, which were bought ready killed of the Chineſe butchers, had water injected into them for the ſame purpoſe; ſo that a carcaſe, hung up all night that the water might drain from it had loſt above a ſtone of its weight. And when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was diſcovered that the Chineſe gave them ſalt to increaſe their thirſt; and, having thus excited them to drink great quantities of water, they then took meaſures to pre-

vent their diſcharging it again by urine, and ſold the tortured animal in this inflated ſtate. When the Commodore firſt put to ſea from Macao, they practiſed an artifice of another kind; for as the Chineſe never ſcruple eating any food that dies of itſelf, they contrived, by ſome ſecret practices, that great part of his live ſea-ſtore ſhould die in a ſhort time after it was put on board, hoping to make a ſecond profit of the dead carcaſſes, which they expected would be thrown over-board; and two thirds of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of ſight of land, many of the Chineſe boats followed her, only to pick up the carrion. Theſe inſtances may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the manners of this celebrated nation, which is often recommended to the reſt of the world as a pattern of all kinds of laudible qualities. But to return:

The Commodore, towards the end of Septem ber, having found out (as has been ſaid) that thoſe who had contracted to ſupply him with ſea proviſions and ſtores, had deceived him, and that the Viceroy had not invited him to an interview, according to his promiſe, he ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to ſurmount the difficulties he was under, without going to Canton and viſiting the Viceroy. And therefore, on the 27th of September, he ſent a meſſage to the Mandarine who attended the Centurion, to inform him, that he, the Commodore, intended on the firſt of October, to proceed in his boat to Canton; adding, that the day after he got there, he ſhould notify his arrival to the Viceroy, and ſhould deſire him to fix a time for his audience. This meſſage being delivered to the Mandarine, he returned no other anſwer, than that he would acquaint the Viceroy with the Commodore's intentions. In the mean time all things were prepared for this expedition; and the boat's crew which Mr Anſon propoſed to take

with him, were clothed in an uniform dreſs, reſembling that of the watermen on the Thames; they were in number eighteen and a coxſwain; they had ſcarlot jackets and blue ſilk waiſtcoats, the whole trimmed with ſilver buttons, beſides ſilver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even aſſerted, that the payment of the cuſtomary duties for the Centurion and her prize would be demanded by the regency of Canton, and would be inſiſted on, previous to their granting a permiſſion to victual the ſhip for her future voyage, the Commodore, who was reſolved never to eſtabliſh ſo diſhonourable a precedent, took all poſſible precaution to prevent the Chineſe from facilitating the ſucceſs of their unreaſonable pretenſions, by having him in their power at Canton. And therefore, the better to ſecure his ſhip, and the great treaſure on board her, againſt their projects, he appointed his firſt lieutenant, Mr Brett, to be captain of the Centurion under him, giving him proper inſtructions for his conduct; directing him particularly, if he the Commodore ſhould be detained at Canton, on account of the duties in diſpute, to take out the men from the Centurion's prize, and to deſtroy her, and then to proceed down the river through the Bocca Tigris, with the Centurion alone, and to remain without that entrance, till he received further orders from Mr Anſon.

Theſe neceſſary ſteps being taken, which were not unknown to the Chineſe, it ſhould ſeem as if their deliberations were in ſome ſort perplexed thereby. It is reaſonable to imagine, that they were in general very deſirous of getting the duties to be paid them; not, perhaps, ſolely in conſideration of the amount of thoſe dues, but to keep up their reputation for addreſs and ſubtlety, and to avoid the imputation of receding from claims on which they had already ſo fre-

quently inſiſted. However, as they now foreſaw that they had no other method of ſucceeding than by violence, and that even againſt this the Commodore was prepared, they were at laſt diſpoſed, I conceive, to let the affair drop rather than entangle themſelves in an hoſtile meaſure, which they found would only expoſe them to the riſk of having the whole navigation of their port deſtroyed, without any certain proſpect of gaining their favourite point.

But though there is reaſon to conclude that theſe were their thoughts at that time, yet they could not depart at once from the evaſive conduct to which they had hitherto adhered. Since when the Commodore, on the morning of the 1ſt of October, was prepairng to ſet out for Canton, his linguiſt came to him from the Mandarine who attended the ſhip, to tell him that a letter had been received from the Viceroy of Canton, deſiring the Commodore to put off his going thither for two or three days The reality of this meſſage was not then queſtioned; but, in the afternoon of the ſame day, another linguiſt came on board, who with much ſeeming fright, told Mr Anſon, that the Viceroy had expected him up that day: that the council was aſſembled, and the troops had been under arms to receive him; and that the Viceroy was highly offended at the diſappointment, and had ſent the Commodore's linguiſt to priſon chained, ſuppoſing that the whole had been owing to the linguiſt's negligence. This plauſible tale gave the Commodore great concern, and made him apprehend, that there was ſome treachery deſigned him which he could not yet fathom. And though it afterwards appeared that the whole was a fiction, not one article of it having the leaſt foundation; yet, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves, this falſhood was ſo well ſupported

by the artifices of the Chineſe merchants at Canton, that, three days afterwards, the Commodore received a letter ſigned by all the ſupercargoes of the Engliſh ſhips then at that place, expreſſing their great uneaſineſs about what had happened, and intimating their fears, that ſome inſult would be offered to his boat, if he came thither before the Viceroy was fully ſatisfied of the miſtake. To this letter Mr Anſon replied, that he did not believe there had been a miſtake; but was perſuaded it was a forgery of the Chineſe to prevent his viſiting the Viceroy; that therefore he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chineſe would not dare to offer him any inſult, as well knowing that he ſhould want neither power nor inclination to make them a proper return.

On the 13th of October, the Commodore, continuing firm to his reſolution, all the ſupercargoes of the Engliſh, Daniſh, and Swediſh ſhips, came on board the Centurion, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he ſet out in his barge the ſame day, attended by his own boats, and by thoſe of the trading ſhips, which on this occaſion ſent their boats to augment his retinue. As he paſſed by Wampo, where the European veſſels lay, he was ſaluted by all of them but the French, and in the evening he arrived ſafely at Canton. His reception in that city, and the moſt material tranſactions from henceforward, till the expedition was brought to a period, by the return of the Centurion to Great Britain, ſhall be the ſubject of the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. X.

Proceedings at the city of Canton, and the return of the Centurion to England.

WHEN the Commodore arrived at Conton, he was viſited by the principal Chineſe

merchants, who affected to be very much pleaſed that he had met with no obſtruction in getting thither; and who thence pretended to conclude, that the Viceroy was ſatisfied about the former miſtake, the reality of which they ſtill inſiſted on. In the converſation which paſſed upon this occaſion, they took care to inſinuate, that, as ſoon as the Viceroy ſhould be informed that Mr Anſon was at Canton, which they promiſed ſhould be done the next morning, they were perſuaded a time would be immediately appointed for the viſit, which was the principal buſineſs that had brought the Commodore to that city.

The next day the merchants returned to Mr Anſon, and told him, that the Viceroy was then ſo fully employed in preparing his diſpatches for Pekin, that there was no getting admittance to him at preſent; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court to give them information as ſoon as he ſhould be at leiſure, when they propoſed to notify Mr Anſon's arrival, and to endeavour to fix the audience. The Commodore was already too well acquainted with their artifices not to perceive that this was a falſhood: and had he conſulted only his own judgment, he would have applied directly to the Viceroy by other hands. But the Chineſe merchants had ſo far prepoſſeſſed the ſupercargoes of our ſhips with chimerical fears, that they, the ſupercargoes, were extremely apprehenſive of being embroiled with the government, and of ſuffering in their intereſt, if thoſe meaſures were taken which appeared to Mr Anſon at that time to be the moſt prudential; and therefore, leſt the malice and double-dealing of the Chineſe might have given riſe to ſome ſiniſter incident, which would be afterwards laid at his door, he reſolved to continue paſſive as long as it ſhould appear that he loſt no time by thus ſuſpending his own opinion.

In purſuance of this reſolution, he propoſed to the Engliſh, that he would engage not to take any immediate ſtep himſelf for getting admittance to the Viceroy, provided the Chineſe, who contracted to furniſh his proviſions, would let him ſee that his bread was baked, his meat ſalted, and his ſtores prepared with the utmoſt diſpatch; but if, by the time when all was in readineſs to be ſhipped off, which it was ſuppoſed would be in about forty days, the merchants ſhould not have procured the government's permiſſion to ſend it on board, then the Commodore was determined to apply to the Viceroy himſelf. Theſe were the terms Mr Anſon thought proper to offer to quiet the uneaſineſs of the ſupercargoes; and notwithſtanding the apparent equity of the conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged; nor would the Chineſe agree to the propoſal till the Commodore had conſented to pay for every article he beſpoke before it was put in hand. However, at laſt, the contract being paſt, it was ſome ſatisfaction to the Commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on; and, being himſelf on the ſpot, he took care to haſten them as much as poſſible.

During this interval, in which the ſtores and proviſions were getting ready, the merchants continually entertained Mr Anſon with accounts of their various endeavours to procure a licence from the Viceroy, and their frequent diſappointments. This was now a matter of amuſement to the Commodore, as he was fully ſatisfied there was not one word of truth in any thing they ſaid. But when all was compleated, and wanted only to be ſhipped, which was about the 24th of November, at which time too the N. E. monſoon was ſet in, he then reſolved to demand an audience of the Viceroy, as he was perſuaded that, without this ceremony, the grant of a permiſſion

to take his ſtores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of November, therefore, Mr Anſon ſent one of his officers to the Mandarine who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of Canton, with a letter directed to the Viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the Mandarine, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in Chineſe, and promiſed, that the Viceroy ſhould be immediately acquainted with it; but told the officer it was not neceſſary he ſhould wait for an anſwer, becauſe a meſſage would be ſent to the Commodore himſelf.

When Mr Anſon firſt determined to write this letter, he had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter, as he was well aware, that none of the Chineſe, uſually employed as linguiſts, could be relied on; but he at laſt prevailed with Mr Flint, an Engliſh gentleman belonging to the factory, who ſpoke Chineſe perfectly well, to accompany his officer. This perſon, who upon that occaſion, and many others, was of ſingular ſervice to the Commodore, had been left at Canton, when a youth, by the late Captain Rigby. The leaving him there to learn the Chineſe language was a ſtep taken by that Captain, merely from his own perſuaſion of the conſiderable advantages which the Eaſt-India Company might one day receive from an Engliſh interpreter: and though the utility of this meaſure has greatly exceeded all that was expected from it, yet I have not heard that it has been to this hour imitated; but we imprudently chuſe, except in this ſingle inſtance, to carry on the vaſt tranſactions at the port of Canton, either by the ridiculous jargon of broken Engliſh, which ſome few of the Chineſe have learned, or by the ſuſpected interpretation of the linguiſts of other nations.

Two days after the ſending the above-mention-

ed letter, a fire broke out in the ſuburbs of Canton. On the firſt alarm Mr Anſon went thither with his officers, and his boat's crew, to aid the Chineſe. When he came there he found that it had begun in a ſailor's ſhade, and that, by the ſlightneſs of the buildings, and the aukwardneſs of the Chineſe, it was getting head a-pace. However, he perceived, that, by pulling down ſome of the adjacent ſhades, it might eaſily be extinguiſhed; and particularly, obſerving that it was then running along a wooden cornice, which blazed fiercely, and would immediately communicate the flame to a great diſtance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away that cornice. This was preſently attempted, and would have been executed; but, in the mean time, he was told that, as there was no Mandarine there, who alone has a power to direct on theſe occaſions, the Chineſe would make him, the Commodore, anſwerable for whatever ſhould be pulled down by his command. Hereupon Mr Anſon and his attendants deſiſted; and he ſent them to the Engliſh factory, to aſſiſt in ſecuring the company's treaſure and effects, as it was eaſy to foreſee, that no diſtance was a protection againſt the rage of ſuch a fire where ſo little was done to put a ſtop to it; ſince all the while, the Chineſe contented themſelves with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it which they ſeemed to expect ſhould check its progreſs. Indeed, at laſt, a Mandarine came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen: theſe made ſome feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houſes; but by that time the fire had greatly extended itſelf, and was got amongſt the merchants warehouſes; and the Chineſe firemen, wanting both ſkill and ſpirit, were incapable of checking its violence, ſo that its fury increaſed upon them, and it was feared the

whole city would be deſtroyed. In this general confuſion the Viceroy himſelf came thither, and the Commodore was ſent to, and was entreated to afford his aſſiſtance, being told that he might take any meaſures he ſhould think moſt prudent in the preſent emergency. Upon this meſſage he went thither a ſecond time, carrying with him about forty of his people, who, in the ſight of the whole city, exerted themſelves after ſo extraordinary a manner, as in that country was altogether without example. For, behaving with the agility and boldneſs peculiar to ſailors, they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings amongſt which they wrought; whence it was not uncommon to ſee the moſt forward of them tumble to the ground on the roofs, and amidſt the ruin of houſes, which their own efforts brought down under them. By their reſolution and activity the fire was ſoon extinguiſhed, to the amazement of the Chineſe; and it fortunately happened too, that the buildings, being all on one floor, and the materials ſlight, the ſeamen, notwithſtanding their daring behaviour, eſcaped with no other injuries than ſome conſiderable bruiſes.

The fire, though at laſt luckily extinguiſhed, did great miſchief during the time it continued; for it conſumed an hundred ſhops, and eleven ſtreets full of warehouſes, ſo that the damage amounted to an immenſe ſum; and one of the Chineſe merchants, well known to the Engliſh, whoſe name was Succoy, was ſuppoſed for his own ſhare, to have loſt near two hundred thouſand pound Sterling. It raged indeed with unuſual violence; for in many of the warehouſes there were large quantities of camphire, which greatly added to its fury, and produced a column of exceeding white flame, which blazed up into the air to ſuch a prodigious height, that it was diſtinctly ſeen on

board the Centurion, though ſhe was at leaſt thirty miles diſtant.

Whilſt the Commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of its becoming general ſtill poſſeſſed the whole city, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Chineſe merchants came to Mr Anſon, to deſire that he would let each of them have one of his ſoldiers (for ſuch they ſtiled his boat's crew from the uniformity of their dreſs) to guard their warehouſes and dwelling-houſes, which from the known diſhoneſty of the populace, they feared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr Anſon granted them this requeſt, and all the men that he thus furniſhed behaved much to the ſatisfaction of the merchants, who afterwards highly applauded their great diligence and fidelity.

By this means, the reſolution of the Engliſh in maſtering the fire, and their truſty and prudent conduct where they were employed as ſafe-guards, was the general ſubject of converſation amongſt the Chineſe. And the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants waited on the Commodore to thank him for his aſſiſtance, frankly owning to him that he had preſerved their city from being totally conſumed, as they could have never extinguiſhed the fire of themſelves. Soon after too, a meſſage came to the Commodore from the Viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for his audience; which ſudden reſolution of the Viceroy, in a matter that had been ſo long agitated in vain, was alſo owing to the ſignal ſervices performed by Mr Anſon and his people at the fire, of which the Viceroy himſelf had been in ſome meaſure an eye-witneſs.

The fixing this buſineſs of the audience was, on every account, a circumſtance with which Mr Anſon was much pleaſed; ſince he was ſatisfied the Chineſe government would not have determin-

ed this point, without having agreed among themſelves to give up the pretenſions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him all he could reaſonably aſk. For as they well knew the Commodore's ſentiments, it would have been a piece of imprudence, not conſiſtent with their refined cunning, to have admitted him to an audience only to have conteſted with him. Being therefore himſelf perfectly eaſy about the reſult of his viſit, he made the neceſſary preparations againſt the day, and engaged Mr Flint, whom I have mentioned before, to act as interpreter in the conference; and Mr Flint in this affair, as in all others, acquitted himſelf much to the Commodore's ſatisfaction, repeating with great boldneſs, and doubtleſs with exactneſs, whatever was given him in charge; a part which no Chineſe linguiſt would have performed with any tolerable fidelity.

At ten o'clock in the morning on the day appointed, a Mandarine came to the Commodore, to let him know that the Viceroy was prepared, and expected him, on which the Commodore and his retinue immediately ſet out. As ſoon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of two hundred ſoldiers ready to receive him; theſe attended him to the great parade before the Emperor's palace, where the Viceroy then recided. In this parade a body of troops, to the number of ten thouſand, were drawn up under arms, who made a very fine appearance, they being all of them new-cloathed for this ceremony. Mr Anſon with his retinue having paſſed through the middle of them, he was then conducted to the great hall of audience, where he found the Viceroy ſeated under a rich canopy in the Emperor's chair of ſtate, with all his council of Mandarines attending. Here there was a vacant ſeat prepared for the Commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival. He was

ranked third in order from the Viceroy, there being only the two chiefs of the law and of the treaſury, who, in the Chineſe government, have precedents of all military officers. When the Commodore was ſeated, he addreſſed himſelf to the Viceroy by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience; adding that he imputed the delays he had met with to the inſincerity of thoſe he had employed; and that he had therefore no other means left then to ſend, as he had done his own officer with a letter to the gate. On the mention of this the Viceroy interrupted the interpreter, and bid him aſſure Mr Anſon, that the firſt knowledge they had of his being at Canton was from that letter. Mr Anſon then proceeded, and told him, that the ſubjects of the King of Great-Britain trading to China had complained to him, the Commodore, of the vexatious impoſitions both of the merchants, and inferior cuſtomhouſe officers, to which they were frequently neceſſitated to ſubmit, by reaſon of the difficulty of getting acceſs to the Mandarines who alone could grant them redreſs; that it was his, Mr Anſon's duty, as an officer of the King of Great-Britain, to lay before the Viceroy theſe grievances of the Britiſh ſubjects, which he hoped the Viceroy would take into conſideration, and would give orders, that hereafter there ſhould be no juſt reaſon for complaint. Here Mr Anſon pauſed and waited ſome time in expectation for an anſwer; but nothing being ſaid, he aſked his interpreter, if he was certain the Viceroy underſtood what he had urged? The interpreter told him, he was certain it was underſtood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. Mr Anſon then repreſented to the Viceroy the caſe of the ſhip Haſlingfield, which having been diſmaſted on the coaſt of China, had arrived in the river of

Canton but a few days before. The people on board this veſſel had been great ſufferers by the fire, the captain in particular, had all his goods burnt, and had loſt beſides four thouſand five hundred tahel which was ſuppoſed to be ſtollen by the Chineſe boatmen; Mr Anſon therefore deſired that the captain might have the aſſiſtance of the government, as it was apprehended the money could never be recovered without the interpoſition of the Mandarines. And to this requeſt the Viceroy made anſwer, that in ſettling the Emperor's cuſtoms for the ſhip, ſome abatement ſhould be made in conſideration of her loſſes.

And now the Commodore, having diſpatched the buſineſs with which the officers of the Eaſt-India-Company had intruſted him, he entered on his own affairs, acquanting the Viceroy that the proper ſeaſon was already ſet in for returning to Europe, and that he wanted only a licence to ſhip off his proviſions and ſtores, which were all ready; and that, as ſoon as this ſhould be granted him, and he ſhould have gotten his neceſſaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton, and to make the beſt of his way for England. The Viceroy replied to this, that the licence ſhould be immediately iſſued, and that every thing ſhould be ordered on board the following day. And finding that Mr Anſon had nothing farther to inſiſt on, the Viceroy continued the converſation for ſome time, acknowledging in very civil terms, how much the Chineſe were obliged to him for his ſignal ſervices at the fire, and owning that he had ſaved the city from being deſtroyed; then obſerving that the Centurion had been a good while on their coaſt, he cloſed his diſcourſe by wiſhing the Commodore a proſperous voyage to Europe. After which the Commodore thanking him for his civility and aſſiſtance, took his leave

As ſoon as the Commodore was out of the hall

of audience, he was much preſſed to go into a neighbouring apartment, where there was an entertainment provided; but finding, on enquiry, that the Viceroy himſelf was not to be preſent, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the ſame manner as at his arrival; only, on his leaving the city, he was ſaluted by three guns, which are as many as, in that country, are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the Commodore, to his great joy, at laſt finiſhed this troubleſome affair, which, for the preceding four months, had given him much diſquietude. Indeed he was highly pleaſed with procuring a licence for the ſhipping of his ſtores and proviſions, as thereby he was enabled to return to Great Britain with the firſt of the monſoons, and to prevent all intelligence of his being expected: but this though a very important point, was not the circumſtance which gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction; for he was more particularly attentive to the authentic precedent eſtabliſhed on this occaſion, by which his majeſty's ſhips of war are, for the future, exempted from all demands of duty in any of the ports of China.

In purſuance of the promiſes of the Viceroy, the proviſions were begun to be ſent on board the day ſucceeding the audience; and, four days after, the Commodore embarked at Canton for the Centurion. And now all the preparations for putting to ſea were purſued with ſo much vigilance, and were ſo ſoon compleated, that, the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and ſtood down the river, paſſing through the Bocca Tigris on the 10th. On this occaſion I muſt obſerve, that the Chineſe had taken care to man the two forts, on each ſide of that paſſage, with as many men as they could well contain, the greateſt part of them armed with pikes and match-lock muſquets. Theſe garriſons affected to ſhew themſelves as much as poſſible to the ſhips, and were

doubtleſs intended to induce Mr Anſon to think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the Chineſe military power. For this purpoſe they were equipped with extraordinary parade, having a great number of colours expoſed to view; and on the caſtle, in particular, there was laid conſiderable heaps of large ſtones; and a ſoldier of unuſual ſize, dreſſed in very ſightly armour, ſtalked about on the parapet with a battle-ax in his hand, endeavouring to put on as important and martial an air as poſſible, though ſome of the obſervers on board the Centurion ſhrewdly ſuſpected, from the appearance of his armour, that, inſtead of ſteel, it was compoſed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.

The Centurion and her prize being now without the river of Canton, and conſequently upon the point of leaving the Chineſe juriſdiction, I beg leave, before I quit all mention of the Chineſe affairs, to ſubjoin a few remarks on the diſpoſition and genius of that celebrated people. And though it may be ſuppoſed, that obſervations made at Canton only, a place ſituated in a corner of the Empire, are very imperfect materials on which to found any general concluſions; yet as thoſe who have had opportunities of examining the inner parts of the country, have been evidently influenced by very ridiculous prepoſſeſſions, and as the tranſactions of Mr Anſon with the regency of Canton were of an uncommon nature, in which many circumſtances occurred, different, perhaps, from any which have happened before, I hope the following reflections, many of them drawn from theſe incidents, will not be altogether unacceptable to the reader.

That the Chineſe are a very ingenious and induſtrious people, is ſufficiently evinced, from the great number of curious manufactures which are eſtabliſhed amongſt them, and which are eagerly

fought for by the moſt diſtant nations; but though ſkill in the handicraft arts ſeems to be the moſt valuable qualification of this people, yet their talents therein are but of a ſecond rate kind; for they are much outdone by the Japaneſe in thoſe manufactures which are common to both countries: and they are, in numerous inſtances, incapable of rivalling the mechanic dexterity of the Europeans. Indeed their principal excellency ſeems to be imitation; and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius which conſtantly attends all ſervile imitators. This is moſt conſpicuous in works which require great truth and accuracy, as in clocks, watches, fire-arms, &c. for in all theſe, though they can copy the different parts, and can form ſome reſemblance of the whole, yet they never could arrive at ſuch a juſtneſs in their fabric as was neceſſary to produce the deſired effect. If we paſs from thoſe employed in manufactures to artiſts of a ſuperior claſs, as painters, ſtatuaries, &c. in theſe matters they ſeem to be ſtill more defective; their painters, though very numerous, and in great eſteem, rarely ſucceeding in the drawing or colouring of human figures, or in the grouping of large compoſitions; and though, in flowers and birds, their performances are much more admired, yet even in theſe, ſome part of the merit is rather to be imputed to the native brightneſs and excellency of the colours, than to the ſkill of the painter; ſince it is very unuſual to ſee the light and ſhade juſtly and naturally handled, or to find that eaſe and grace in the drawing which are to be met with in the works of European artiſts. In ſhort, there is a ſtiffneſs and minuteneſs in moſt of the Chineſe productions, which are extremely diſpleaſing; and it may, perhaps, be truly aſſerted, that theſe defects in their arts are entirely owing to the peculiar turn of the people,

amongſt whom nothing great or ſpirited is to be met with.

If we next examine the Chineſe literature, (taking our accounts from the writers who have endeavoured to repreſent it in the moſt favourable light) we ſhall find, that on this head, their obſtinacy and abſurdity are moſt wonderful; ſince though, for many ages, they have been ſurrounded by nations to whom the uſe of letters was familiar, yet they, the Chineſe alone, have hitherto neglected to avail themſelves of that almoſt divine invention, and have continued to adhere to the rude and inartificial method of repreſenting words by arbitrary marks; a method which neceſſarily renders the number of their characters too great for human memory to manage, makes writing to be an art that requires prodigious application, and in which no man can be otherwiſe than partially ſkilled, whilſt all reading and underſtanding of what is written is attended with infinite obſcurity and confuſion; as the connexion between theſe marks, and the words they repreſent, cannot be retained in books, but muſt be delivered down from age to age by oral tradition: and how uncertain this muſt prove, in ſuch a complicated ſubject, is ſufficiently obvious to thoſe who have attended to the variation which all verbal relations undergo, when they are tranſmitted through three or four hands only. Hence it is eaſy to conclude, that the hiſtory and inventions of paſt ages, recorded by theſe perplexed ſymbols, muſt frequently prove unintelligible; and conſequently, the learning and boaſted antiquity of the nation muſt, in numerous inſtances, be extremely problematical.

However, we are told by many of the miſſionaries, that, though the ſkill of the Chineſe in ſcience is confeſſedly much inferior to that of the Europeans, yet the morality and juſtice taught and practiſed by them are moſt exemplary ſo

that, from the deſcription given by ſome of theſe good fathers, one ſhould be induced to believe, that the whole empire was a well-governed affectionate family, where the only conteſts were, who ſhould exert the moſt humanity and ſocial virtue: but our preceding relation of the behaviour of the magiſtrates, merchants, and tradeſmen at Canton, ſufficiently refutes theſe Jeſuitical fictions. Beſide, as to their theories of morality, if we may judge from the ſpecimens exhibited in the works of the miſſionaries, we ſhall find them frequently employed in recommending a ridiculous attachment to certain frivolous points, inſtead of diſcuſſing the proper criterion of human actions, and regulating the general conduct of mankind to one another on reaſonable and equitable principles. Indeed, the only pretenſion of the Chineſe to a more refined morality than their neighbours is founded, not on their integrity or beneficence, but ſolely on the affected evenneſs of their demeanour, and their conſtant attention to ſuppreſs all ſymptoms of paſſion and violence. But it muſt be conſidered, that hypocriſy and fraud are often not leſs miſchievous to the general intereſts of mankind, than impetuoſity and vehemence of temper; ſince theſe, though uſually liable to the imputation of imprudence, do not exclude ſincerity, benevolence, reſolution, nor many other laudable qualites. And perhaps, if this matter was examined to the bottom, it would appear, that the calm and patient turn of the Chineſe, on which they ſo much value themſelves, and which diſtinguiſhes the nation from all others, is, in reality, the ſource of the moſt exceptionable part of their character; for it has been often obſerved, by thoſe who have attended to the nature of mankind, that it is difficult to curb the more robuſt and violent paſſions, without augmenting, at the ſame time, the force of the ſelfiſh ones: ſo that the timidity, diſſimulation, and

diſhoneſty of the Chineſe may, in ſome ſort, be owing to the compoſure and external decency ſo univerſally prevailing in that empire.

Thus much for the general diſpoſition of the people: but I cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without adding a few words about the Chineſe government, that too having been the ſubject of boundleſs panegyric. And, on this head, I muſt obſerve, that the favourable accounts often given of their prudent regulations for the adminiſtration of their domeſtic affairs, are ſufficiently confuted by their tranſactions with Mr Anſon, as we have ſeen that their magiſtrates are corrupt, their people thieviſh, and their tribunals venal, and abounding with artifice. Nor, is the conſtitution of the empire, or the general orders of the ſtate, leſs liable to exception; ſince that form of government which does not, in the firſt place, provide for the ſecurity of the public againſt the enterpriſes of foreign powers, is certainly a moſt defective inſtitution: and yet this populace, this rich and extenſive country, ſo pompouſly celebrated for its refined wiſdom and policy, was conquered about an age ſince by a handful of Tartars; and, even now, through the cowardice of the inhabitants, and the want of proper military regulations, it continues expoſed, not only to the attempts of any potent ſtate, but to the ravages of every petty invader. I have already obſerved, on occaſion of the Commodore's diſputes with the Chineſe, that the Centurion alone was an overmatch for all the naval power of that empire: this, perhaps, may appear an extraordinary poſition; but, to render it unqueſtionable, there is exhibited, in the XLIId plate, the draught of two of the veſſels made uſe of by the Chineſe. The firſt of theſe, marked (A) is a junk of about a hundred and twenty tons burden, and was what the Centurion hove down by; theſe are moſt uſed in the great rivers, though they ſometimes

ſerve for ſmall coaſting voyages: the other junk marked (B) is about two hundred and eight tons burden, and is of the ſame form with thoſe in which they trade to Cochinchina, Manila, Batavia, and Japan, though ſome of their trading veſſele are of a much larger ſize: its head which is repreſented at (C) is perfectly flat; and when the veſſel is deep laden, the ſecond or third plank of this flat ſurface is oft times under water. The maſts, ſails, and rigging of theſe veſſels are ruder than the built; for their maſts are made of trees no otherwiſe faſhioned than by barking them, and lopping off their branches. Each maſt has only two ſhrouds of twiſted rattan, which are often both ſhifted to the weather-ſide; and the halyard while the yard is up, ſerves inſtead of a third ſhroud. The ſails are of mat, ſtrengthened every three feet by an horizontal rib of bamboo, they run upon the maſt with hoops as is repreſented in the figure; and, when they are lowered down, they fold upon the deck. Theſe traders carry no cannon; and it appears from this whole deſcription, that they are utterly incapable of reſiſting any European armed veſſel. Nor is the ſtate provided with ſhips of conſiderable force, or of a better fabric, to protect their merchantmen: for at Canton, where, doubtleſs their principal naval power is ſtationed, we ſaw no more than four men of war junks, of about three hundred tons burden, being of the make already deſcribed, and mounted only with eight or ten guns, the largeſt of which did not exceed a four-pounder. This may ſuffice to give an idea of the defenceleſs ſtate of the Chineſe empire. But it is time to return to the Commodore, whom I left with his two ſhips without the Bocca Tigris, and who, on the 12th of December, anchored before the town of Macao.

Whilſt the ſhips lay here, the merchants of Macao finiſhed their purchaſe of the galeon, for

which they refuſed to give more than 6000 dollars; this was greatly ſhort of her value, but the impatience of the Commodore to get to ſea, to which the merchants were no ſtrangers, prompted them to inſiſt on theſe unequal terms. Mr Anſon had learned enough from the Engliſh at Canton, to conjecture that the war with Spain was ſtill continued, and that probably the French might engage in the aſſiſtance of Spain before he could arrive in Great-Britain; and therefore, knowing that no intelligence could come to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treaſure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was reſolved to make all poſſible expedition in getting back, that he might be himſelf the firſt meſſenger of his own good fortune, and might thereby prevent the enemy from forming any projects to intercept him: for theſe reaſons he, to avoid all delay, accepted of the ſum offered for the galeon; and ſhe being delivered to the merchants the 15th of December 1743, the Centurion, the ſame day, got under ſail on her return to England. On the third of January ſhe came to an anchor at Prince's iſland in the Streights of Sunda, and continued there wooding and watering till the eight; when ſhe weighed and ſtood for the Cape of Good Hope, where, on the eleventh of March, ſhe anchored in Table-bay.

The Cape of Good Hope is ſituated in a temperate climate, where the exceſſes of heat and cold are rarely known; and the Dutch inhabitants, who are numerous, and who here retain their native induſtry, have ſtocked it with prodigious plenty of all ſorts of fruits and proviſions; moſt of which, either from the equality of the ſeaſons, or the peculiarity of the ſoil, are more delicious in their kind than can be met with elſewhere; ſo that by theſe, and by the excellent water which abounds there, this ſettlement is the beſt provided of any

in the known world for the refreſhment of ſeamen after long voyages. Here the Commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, which, by its extraordinary accommodations, the healthineſs of its air, and the pictureſque appearance of the country, the whole enlivened too by the addition of a civilized colony, was not diſgraced on a compariſon with the vallies of Juan Fernandes, and the lawns of Tinian. During his ſtay he entered about forty new men; and having, by the third of April 1744, compleated his water and proviſion, he on that day weighed and put to ſea. The 19th of April they ſaw the iſland of St Helena, which however they did not touch at, but ſtood on their way; and arriving in ſoundings about the beginning of June, they on the 10th of that month ſpoke with an Engliſh ſhip bound for Philadelphia, from whom they received the firſt intelligence of a French war. By the 12th of June they got ſight of the Lizard; and the 15th, in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came ſafe to an anchor at Spithead. But that the ſignal perils, which had ſo often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterpriſe, might purſue them to the very laſt, Mr Anſon learned, on his arrival, that there was a French fleet of conſiderable force cruiſing in the chops of the channel, which, from the account of their poſition, he found the Centurion had run through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finiſhed, when it had laſted three years and nine months, after having by its event ſtrongly evinced this important truth, That though prudence, intrepidity, and perſeverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverſe fortune, yet, in a long ſeries of tranſactions, they uſually riſe ſuperior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving ſucceſsful.

THE END.